

**LIFE, DATE AND WORKS
OF**

Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

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Dr. JINITHA K.S.

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OF

Melputtūr
Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

A Critical Study

Dr. JINITHA K.S.

Dedicated to Prof. R. Vāsudevan Pottī
at whose feet I have learnt to learn

**LIFE, DATE AND WORKS
OF MELPUTTŪR NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA**

A Critical Study in English

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A BOOK PUBLISHED BY K.G. SASI

A FOREWORD BY THE PUBLISHER

Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa though popular through his Nārāyaṇīya and Prakriyāsarvasva has spent most of his time and efforts for writing campūkāvya. In spite of being a refined human with a lot of humility as admitted by him in one of his letters, he is known as a haughty and untamable legendary superman in literature. Reviewing the life, date and works of such a person requires great courage.

The tales on Melputtūr is well known, and therefore the author of this book simply neglects them and takes into consideration only the disputed or unrevealed facts of the life of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as the subject matter of this book. The attempt of the author to critically approach the disputed facts of the life of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and to identify and date various chronograms, especially like that of Dhātukāvya is appreciable.

The classification of the works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is another example of the originality of the author. The attempt to identify the works based on the remembrance of deities or kings contained in the opening or concluding verses and correlating them with the temples and countries where Melputtūr had gone according to the lore seem to be capable of giving more light into the life of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

Dr. Jinitha has doubtlessly contributed much to the reevaluation and discovery of facts pertaining to the biography of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and time shall reveal that her efforts are insightful and fruitful.

K.G.SASI
Publisher

PREFACE

The holy land of kerala has given birth to many scholarly titans. Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is a glittering star among them. He was a scholar in Sanskrit, especially in grammar, jyotisa, mimamsa, and the Vedas. Hence his writings were also diverse. His writing styles were also different. He wrote kāvyas, śāstras, śāstrakāvyas, sūktaslokās, tāṇṭams, campūprabandhas, stotrakāvyas etc.

His own sayings can reveal his whereabouts; his father, brother, friends and patrons and this information are capable of leading us into inferring his personal life and philosophy. So many critiques have studied on him and his texts, but in the case of his dates of birth and death their opinions differ. In this work I have given emphasis to draw his life as revealed from his literature.

I thank Dr. G. Gangadharan Nair, Dr.R.Vijayakumar, Dr.P.Visalakshy, Dr.N.P.Unni and Alur Prabhakaran for giving me fresh ideas and information. I am also indebted to Mr.K.G.Sasi publisher of this book.

JINITHA K.S.

Author

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

A	Aé	C	D	E	F	G	H
a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	ṛ
I	L	Lá	Alá	Alæ	Aç	A:	
ḷr	e	ai	o	au	am	aḥ	
	M	Zé	af	bé	X		
	ka	kha	ga	gha	ña		
	cé	d	ef	fé	gé		
	ca	cha	ja	jha	ña		
	O	P	Q	R	hé		
	ṭa	ṭha	ḍa	ḍha	ṇa		
	if	jé	S	ké	lé		
	ta	tha	da	dha	na		
	nf	T	of	pé	qé		
	pa	pha	ba	bha	ma		
	rf	U	sé	uf	vé		
	ya	ra	la	va	śa		
	wé	xé	y	t	g		
	ṣa	sa	ha	ḷa	ḷa		

A LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Name of Book
A	Aṣṭādhyāyī
ACSL	A Companion to Sanskrit Literature
AHIL	A History of Indian Literature
AHSG	A Higher Sanskrit Grammar
AHSL	A History of Sanskrit Literature
AICIL	An Introduction to Classical Indian Literature
AKM	Amarakośaḥ - Edited by Paṇḍit Śivadatta
APS	Aspects of Paninian Semantics
ASGS	A Sanskrit Grammar for Students
AVH	Āranmulaṅgavilāsaṁ Hamsappāṭṭ
Bissy	Prabandhas of Melputtur Narayanabhattachari by Bissy R.N.
BPSP	Bhārataṁ Prabandham (Subhadrāraṇam Prabandham)
BSS	Brhaccabdenduśekhara Vol.II
CHI	The Cultural Heritage of India
CKAE	Campū-kāvya Kā Ālocanātmak Evam Āitihāsik Adhyayan
CKSL	The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature
DN	Dhātukāvya of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa
EIL	Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature
GSR	Glimpses of Sanskrit Research (Vidyotini)
HCSL	History of Classical Sanskrit Literature
HIL	History of Indian Literature
HOSL	History of Sanskrit Literature by Calicut University
IKL	Indian Kavya Literature
JCH	Jīvaṇḍharacampū of Haricandra
KP – I	Kāśikā Part I
KSH	Kāvyaṇuśāsana of Hemacandra
KSSC	Keralīya Saṁskṛta Sāhitya Caritram
KSV	Kāvyaṅgākārasūtravṛtti of Vāmaṇācārya
MB	Mahābhārata
MVP	Melputtūrīṇṭe Vyākaraṇa Pratibhā
NBC	Nīlakaṇṭhakavi and his Bhāṣā Campūs: A Study

NPSACS	Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Prakriyāsarvasva A Critical Study
PBCOM	Purvabhāratacampū of Mānaveda
PBS	Paribhāṣenduśekhara
PGSL	Practical grammar of the Sanskrit Language-Benfey
PKAAS	Prācīna Keralakavikalekkuriccuḷla Aitihyaññaḷum Avayūṭe Sāhityavimarśanamūlyavum
PLM	Paramalaghumañjūṣā edited by Jayasankar Lal Tripathi
PM	Prabandhamañjarī
PS	The Prakriyāsarvasva of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭatiri by Nārāyaṇapiṣroṭi
PVPS	Pāṇinīyavyākaraṇe Pramāṇasamīkṣā
RCB	Rāmāyaṇacampū of Bhoja
SICL	Studies in Campū literature
SKAPV	The System of Kṛt Accentuation in Pāṇini and the Veda
SKD	Śabdakalpadruma
SL	Śloka
SMN	Samskr̥ta- Malayāḷa Nighaṇṭu
SNACES	Subhadrāharṇa of Nārāyaṇa: A Critical Edition and Study
SPHCAS	Śeṣakṛṣṇa's Pārijātaḥaraṇacampū: A study
SS	Śikṣāsaṅgrahaḥ
Ssy	Sanskrit Syntax
SVK	Sarva Vijñāna Kośam
SVKT	Samskr̥t Vyākaraṇaṁ mem Kārakatatvānuśīlan
SVSKI	Samskr̥t Vyākaraṇaṁ Śāstr̥ kā Itihāsa
TSL	The Sanskrit Language
VBS	Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra of Chandrikāprasāda Dvivedī
VDB	Vyākaraṇadarśanabhūmikā
VKBS	Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra of Śrībālakṛṣṇapañcolī and Śrīharivallabhaśāstri
VP	Vākyapadīya by Padmasri PT.Raghunātha Śarma
VSVK	Viśva Sāhitya Vijñāna Kośam
VSK	Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī

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CHAPTER I

LIFE OF MELPUTTŪR NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA

Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born in Melputtūr Illam of present Kurumpattūr Village, Ātavanāṭ Panchayat, Tirūr Taluk of Malappuram District of Kerala, India. The place Melputtūr was originally under the rule of Veṭṭattu Nāṭṭurājā and was later under the Ponnāni Taluk of Malabar District of British Madras Province. Melputtūr Illam was situated at a distance of 1.5 kilometers to the east of the famous Candanakkāvu temple which is around 4 kilometers in the Puttanattāṇi route from Tirunāvāya. Melputtūr Illam became heirless and was subsequently merged in the Maravañceri Tekkeṭat Illam. After the enforcement of the Land Reforms Act in Kerala, 17 cents of land where the remnants of the Melputtūr Illam building was situated came under the ownership of a Muslim named Kummāḷil Paḷḷiyālil Alavi. He gifted the land to the Guruvāyūr Devasvam which constructed a small Melpattūr smārakamandira there and inaugurated it in 1978 on 1157 Vṛścikam 8. Two stanzas are reproduced in this regard in the Melpattūr Smaraṇika-1985.¹ That smāraka was however partially neglected by the Devasvam until these days. However there is a festival conducted there on every Vṛścikam 8 which is the date of the installation of the statue of Melputtūr

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. A local organization named Melpattūr Smāraka Samrakṣaṇa Samiti is also established with its headquarters at Ātavanāṭ Panchayat, Kurumpattūr Village of Tirūr Taluk, Pin-676301.

Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's life period according to some is 1559-1632 A.D. He was the third student of Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr Acyuta piṣāroṭi. He was a member of Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma's Kerala school of astronomy and mathematics. He was a mathematical linguist (vaiyākaraṇa). His most important work, Prakriyāsarvasva, sets forth an axiomatic system elaborating on the classical system of Pāṇini. However, he is most famous for his masterpiece, Nārāyaṇīya.²

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa studied mīmāṃsā from his father Māṭṛdatta who was a scholar in Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā, Ṛgveda (adhyayanam) from Mādhava, Tarkaśāstra (science of arguments / logic in Sanskrit) from Dāmodara and Vyākaraṇa (Sanskrit grammar) from Acyutapiṣāroṭi. All this information is given in a verse at the end of the Nyāya section in Prakriyāsarvasva.³ He became a paṇḍita by the age of sixteen. He is said to have married Acyutapiṣāroṭi's niece and settled in Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr. He was a propounder of Pūrvamīmāṃsā, Uttaramīmāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa. In the commentary on Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's Dhātukāvya, Rāmapāṇivāda has also referred to him as belonging to the family of Uparinavagrāma.⁴

Kuṇṇiṇṇirājā do not agree with the popular traditions in Kerala that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's mother was a sister of the Payyūr Bhaṭṭas patronized by Mānavikrama, the King of Calicut, on the ground that King Mānavikrama had lived in the 15th century, and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa flourished in the 17th century.⁵ But it doesn't mean that she has not belonged to the Payyūr family at all.

The word Dāmodarārya referred to in the verse etc. denotes that Dāmodara was an elder brother of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. There is also information that they were three brothers. The very fact that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa did not stay at Melputtūr also proves that he was not the eldest brother. The opinion of Uḷḷūr interpreting Dāmodarārya as Dāmodarācārya⁶ also do not hold good. It was also a common practice among the nampūtiris of Kerala to name the elder son the name of his paternal grandfather, the second son the name of his maternal grandfather and the third son the name of his own father.⁷ In the circumstances it can be inferred that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had an elder brother named Dāmodara.

According to K. Kuṇṇiṇṇirājā, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had a younger brother, also named Māṭṛdatta, for one of the manuscripts of the Nārāyaṇīya says that it was copied by the author's younger brother Māṭṛdatta.⁸

When he attained the age between five and ten he was sent for vedic education. He also had an introductory

education in Sanskrit including the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa, influenced on which he has written "Tārakavadha" which contain the kali date 'cittam bāṇena sākam (1705366) which corresponds to 1568 March 12. He studied at Candanakkāvu and surrounding places until he attained youthful age. The prime deities of Candanakkāvu were Gaṇapati, Bhagavati, and Viṣṇu.⁹ The Nāvāmukunda temple was not away from Candanakkāvu and Mukunda also remained as a deity of his younger days. It can hence be inferred that those works which contains prayers to the three deities of Candanakkāvu and Nāvāmukunda are his early works.

It is not baseless to think that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has married the niece of Acyutapiṣāroṭi as he was not the eldest son.¹⁰ The popular tradition also supports the same. There are numerous stories which reveal that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had lived at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr for a while. His famous chronogram 'bālakaḷatram saukhyam'¹¹ also proves that he had a wife and a son. The very fact that he has returned back to Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr after leaving Ampalapula¹² is also an evidence to prove that he had some family relations there. An autobiographically interpretation of daśaka 53 of Nārāyaṇīya¹³ also reveals that he has entered into the world of sex as advised by one of his poor colleagues and that his wife had influenced him to learn more. According to Kṛṣṇamācāriyār Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's son Kṛṣṇakavi wrote the poem Tārāśaśāṅka.¹⁴ While residing at

Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr at his wife house, he had the opportunity of becoming a disciple of Acyutapiṣāroṭi. The chronogram 'bālakaḷatram saukhyam' corresponds to a Meṭam 1 which had some astronomical peculiarities. Hence the popular tradition that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa made the chronogram 'bālakaḷatram saukhyam' on the request of Acyutapiṣāroṭi as a mental exercise may be correct. It may equally be correct that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have made the chronogram 'bālakaḷatram saukhyam' as referring to his own wife and son. When Acyutapiṣāroṭi was not satisfied Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa made another chronogram 'liṅgavyādhirasahyaḥ' which may perhaps be indicative of a urinary infection suffered by him at that time. Somehow it is later proved on the strength of the legends on Nārāyaṇīya that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was suffering from serious illness the cause of which was infuriation of vāta as mentioned in Āyurveda. Most probably the illness must be something connected with the nerve system, such as one like epilepsy as he is said to have become unconscious during vātakopa.¹⁵ Guruvāyūr was traditionally believed to be a temple where vāta diseases were cured by the blessings of the deity there in the form of Guruvāyupureśa. It is also well known that Vāyu is the god of all vātas. Hence he went to Guruvāyūr temple with a decision to write Nārāyaṇīya within one hundred days. According to the Vanamālā vyākhyāna of Nārāyaṇīya, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa left Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr for Guruvāyūr on a Tiruvoṇam afternoon after lunch and that the writing of

Nārāyaṇīya must have been commenced the day following the next day.¹⁶ If it is so the fifty third daśaka must have been written on or around the 29th birth day of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Nārāyaṇīya being a bhaktikāvya cannot be devoid of autobiographical references, because bhakti is always the result of the union of an individual with the deity on whom he believes. Hence Nārāyaṇīya also contains a brief reflection of the experiences of the author. It was also a fashion during the medieval centuries throughout India to write verse with dual meanings. Hence it is reasonable to think that the fifty third daśaka of Nārāyaṇīya is constructed in a style capable of being interpreted in two ways one of which gives a brief description of the experience of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa until his 29th birthday. One of the possible interpretations of some ślokaś of the daśaka 53 of Nārāyaṇīya is given as Appendix I.

There is a strong tradition that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa wrote Nārāyaṇīya, after accepting the advice of Eḷuttaccan to start with fish (mīn totṭu kūṭṭuka). Both of them had Acyutapiṣāroṭi as their prime preceptor. It is also believed that Tuṇṇicatt Rāmānujan Eḷuttaccan wrote Rāmāyaṇam Irupattināluvṛttam on the request of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.¹⁷ While residing at Guruvāyūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had acquaintance with Pūntānam Nampūtiri also. His works which praise Guruvāyūpureśa were also written around this period.

The Zamorin who had ritual connections with the Guruvāyūr and Nāvāmukunda temples must have heard of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and invited him to Kolikoṭ. It was during this time he must have written Mānavikramapraśasti. Then he returned to Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr just before writing Vyāsoṭpatti.

However there is evidence that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written some praśastis on the Mahārājā of Kocci. Vīrakerāḷarājā (M.E. 776-790 = 1601 – 1615 A.D.)¹⁸ was ruling there then. His Gośrīnagaravarṇana or Vīrakerāḷapraśasti therefore must be written during this period. Kocci kings being worshippers of Śiva may have appreciated the śaiva themes and therefore it can be assumed that the śaivite works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa were also written at that time.

His Aṣṭamīcampū and Bimbalīśapraśasti must have been written after leaving the patronage of the Kocci kings and before his patronage at Ampalapuḷa. Vanamālā vyākhyā of Nārāyaṇīya states that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa went to Vaikkattaṣṭamī and had acquaintance with Vaṭakkumkūr Godavarmarājā and wrote Aṣṭamīcampū¹⁹ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have then left for Ampalappuḷa where the Pūrāṭamtirunāl Devanārāyaṇa²⁰ who lived between 1566 and 1622 was the king. Most of his grammatical works and some of his major prabandhas were written there. Since the Lord of worship of Devanārāyaṇa was Kṛṣṇa, the works wherein the name of Kṛṣṇa is praised can also be deemed to have been written while Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

residing there. When Devanārāyaṇa fell in prolonged illness Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa returned to Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr where he found his preceptor Acyutapiṣāroṭi also in death bed. He spent a few more years at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr after the death of Acyutapiṣāroṭi and left for Mukkola to worship the Bhagavati there. If the chronogram 'bālakaḷatram saukhyam' (1633 April 7 or 808 Meṭam 1) was composed on the same day which it points to, it can be assumed that he was staying with his family at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr even after his composition of Śrīpādasaptati (1627 October 17 = 803 Tulām 7). It is also generally accepted that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has abstained from all worldly temptations after the composition of Śrīpādasaptati. Hence the opinion that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was under the patronage of Mānaveda of Calicut who was the Zamorin from 1655-1658 A.D.²¹ and that Śailābhdhīśvarapraśasti was written in 833 M.E. = 1658 A.D.²² do not seem plausible.

There are some devotional stray verses by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa about the Goddess of Candanakkāvu, Gaṇapati, and the lords of Ampalappuḷa, Ettumānūr and Vaikkam temples.²³ It can be assumed that the stray verses which praise Goddess of Candanakkāvu and Gaṇapati are his teen age works and the verses praising the lords of Ampalappuḷa, Ettumānūr and Vaikkam temples may have been written while his stay at the respective temples, the former while he was under the patronage of Devanārāyaṇa and the other two while his acquaintance with Vaṭakkumkūr

Godavarmarājā. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had academic contacts with Someśvara Dīkṣita of Coḷadeśa and Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, minister of Raghunātha Nāik of Tanjore.²⁴

Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri of Veḷḷāṇṇallūr, author of Bhāvārthadīpikā commentary on Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita and Dīnmātradarśinī commentary of Bodhāyana's Bhagavadajjuka, Candraśekharaṇāyār, the author of Kṛṣṇacarita Mahākāvya and Nārāyaṇa, the author of Tantraprāyaścitta and Anuṣṭhāna Samuccaya²⁵ are some of the disciples of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

There is a legend that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa died after falling in a pool when his legs had slipped at its stone steps.²⁶ But according to Uḷḷūr and others, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa while starting from Mukkola Melekkāvu for bhajana, passed away at the southeast corner of Kilekkāvu.²⁷ The author of the Bhaktapriyā vyākhyā of Nārāyaṇīya has praised Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as, "samādhigatanikhilanigamārtha-satatvaḥ śabdaparabrahmapārāvārapārīṇaḥ paramabhāgavataḥ sakalasahādayamahitayaśāḥ śrī nārāyaṇakaviḥ"²⁸

CHAPTER II

DATE OF MELPUTTŪR NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa himself has given a large number of kali dates from which it is possible to have a fair idea about the period in which he has flourished.

a) The short campū Tārakavadha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is generally supposed to be incomplete by many scholars. But at the end of the existing campū, there is a probable chronogram 'cittam bāṇena sākam' (1705366), ²⁹ which corresponds to 1568 March 11. As shall be stated under this subhead itself, the birth of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa may be on the Utrāṭam star of 733 Tulām of Malayalam Era which corresponds to 1557 October or November. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must be around 10 years and 5 months old if both the Kali number and the date of birth proposed are correct. The opening stanza of Tārakavadha runs as follows.

'astyastaśatru tridaśoḥ surendraḥ mahābalastārakanāmadheyah
santrastadevendrakirīṭakotīsamghrīṣṭapādo niyataṁ nitāntam'

It can be seen that the above verse is influenced by the astyuttarasyām etc. of the Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa which was regarded as an introductory text into Sanskrit education in Kerala. Hence the chronogram 'cittam bāṇena sākam' fits, on the ground that the work was one of the earliest attempts of a

genius writer at his pre-teenage. It can also be averred that the work was not seriously taken up as an individual literary work at that age and hence the conclusion that the work was completed by him as seen in the chronogram 'cittam bāṇena sākam' is not unsound.

b) Sarvamatasamgraha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as published by the Kerala University³⁰ contain a chronogram 'samsaratyarke samyak' in its concluding verse.³¹ However it is stated in the footnotes of the concluding verse that the concluding two verses containing the chronogram are not found in other manuscripts of the work. It is also noteworthy that the verse contains a Kollam year in bhūtasamkhyā which do not fit to the meaning of the stanza and seems as an awkward composition which is uncommon to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. It is also unnatural for Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa to state a Kollam Era. Moreover there is already another chronogram 1712045 'śaśvanniśreyasāya'³² denoting the starting of the work in the beginning of the work which corresponds to 1586 June 24. A work which started on a day cannot be completed on a date earlier than its commencement. Considering all these, it can be assumed that the chronogram 'samsaratyarke samyak' is not composed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

c) At the end of Nārāyaṇīya, there is a chronogram āyurārogyasaukhyam³³ denoting the Kali date 1712210, which is corresponding to 1586 December 6.

d) There is a probable chronogram 1713266 'ca tīragāḥ pathikāḥ' ³⁴ in Vyāsoṭpatti³⁵ of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, at two stanzas before its concluding verse. This date corresponds to 1589 October 27. It was a common practice among the old campūs to include the first verse of the next work or next sarga as the concluding verse of that work or sarga,³⁶ especially in the case of individual prabandhas included in Rāmāyaṇacampū or Bhāratacampū, as the case may be, where this practice is generally followed. Including the chronogram at the concluding stanza will therefore cause unnecessary confusion. Hence it can be assumed that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has resorted to include the chronograms in the stanzas just before the concluding verse in such cases. Vyāsoṭpatti is the second among the 37 campūs of the Bhāratacampū of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.³⁷ Hence the validity of the chronogram 'ca tīragāḥ pathikāḥ' can be justified.

e) In the beginning of Kaunteyāṣṭaka, ³⁸ there is a probable chronogram, 'anavabuddhya siddhyat'³⁹ (1713400) which corresponds to 1590 March 10. The name, position and the Kali are closely intermingled and therefore there is no cause to doubt the genuineness of the chronogram 'anavabuddhya siddhyat'.

f) There is a probable chronogram 'bhutāvivātyutsukau'⁴⁰ (1714464) corresponding to 1593 February 6, in the last stanza of Koṭivirahaprabandha⁴¹ of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The word

bhūtāvivātyutsukau is seen as a part of a compound word. That fact alone cannot be taken as an evidence to disprove it as a chronogram, because both the last two lines of Koṭiviraha are formed into a single compound word and therefore there is no demerit in the normal vighraha of the compound word. Hence the existence of 'bhūtāvivātyutsukau' as a chronogram is sustainable.

g) Nadīpuṣṭirasahyā⁴² (1721180) is an established Kali date composed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa which corresponds to 1611 June 29.

h) The Prakriyāsarvasva gives two dates yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt (1723201) and kṛtarāgarasofdyā⁴³ (1723261) which are equivalent of 1617 January 9 and 1617 March 10 respectively. The author therefore has utilized 61 days for completing the work, not the popularly accepted sixty days.

According to S. Venkita Subramonia Iyer these chronograms work out to 2nd Makaram and 3rd Mīnam of 792 M.E. (sixty days from the middle of January to the middle of March 1617). This is slightly at variance with the date given in the granthavari noticed before, namely that it was commenced on 27th Makaram 791 and a part of it was completed on 3rd Mīnam the same year. As has been already pointed out elsewhere the granthavari has to be taken as more dependable and yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt and

kṛtarāgarasofḍya need not be considered as chronograms.⁴⁴ For the following reasons the opinion of S. Venkita Subramonia Iyer do not seem plausible.

To err is human. No work may be termed as flawless. Even the Kerala Sāhitya Caritram of Uḷḷūr has been corrected by later authors in a great deal. Hence the averment that all the other dates given in the above said granthavari are corroborated by other evidences, does not necessarily prove that there is no error in a matter of question in the granthavari. It can be seen from all the nine introductory verses of Prakriyāsarvasva that the same was written only after the completion of the other contents of Prakriyāsarvasva. Then only the author can tell what has happened during the process of writing the book.⁴⁵

Moreover, the first chronogram yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt is not composed at the beginning of the work, but along with the last verse of the introductory verses in combination with the concluding chronogram kṛtarāgarasofḍya. It only means that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has recapitulated the date of the commencement of the work which was just sixty days ago from his memory and composed both chronograms at the concluding day of the entire composition. The averment that the above said nine introductory verses if written after the completion of the other contents, the same must have been included at the end of the work also do not seem reasonable,

because such an arrangement will not help a reader to have a primary opinion of the work for which the introductory verses are intended for. For a person of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's scholarship and caliber, a period of two months is sufficient for the completion of Prakriyāsarvasva for which model books were already existent.⁴⁶ In these circumstances, there are better chances for yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt and kṛtarāgarasoḍya to be genuine chronograms. The fact that only one of the later commentarians, but not the earlier commentarians has stated that yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt and kṛtarāgarasoḍya are chronograms, is not a bar for their existence as chronograms on the light of the fact that many chronograms by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa are identified even by recent researchers.

i) The chronogram 'vidyātmā svarasarpāt'⁴⁷ (1724514) is well known and corresponds to 1620 August 14.

j) In the second stanza of the second sarga of Dhātukāvya there is a probable chronogram 'kamsajīvasramsāya'⁴⁸ (1724871) which corresponds to 1621 August 6. Since there is no other source to identify the correct period of Dhātukāvya and since the date of this chronogram is almost in par with the prevailing tradition kamsajīvasramsāya may be regarded as a valid chronogram.

k) The probable chronogram 'īśvaramakhaṁ samyak'⁴⁹ (1725240) which corresponds to 1622 August 10 appears in the last line of the stanza just before the last stanza of

Yajñāsamrakṣaṇaprabandha.⁵⁰ Yajñāsamrakṣaṇaprabandha is a part of Rāmāyaṇaprabandha and hence the last stanza cannot be depended upon for recording the chronogram. The immediate success of the Rājasūya by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa which describes the highest among the makhas and written just before this chronogram date may have influenced him to compose this chronogram with all his humility. Though Īśvaramakham is taken from the compound word muniśvaramakham, it does not necessarily alter the basic meaning of the words in the sense that yajña as mentioned in Yajñāsamrakṣaṇa was conducted by both the Muni (Viśvāmitra) and Īśvara (Rāma). Hence Īśvaramakham samyak can be regarded as a chronogram.

I) 'Bhogāṅkatham prārthaye'⁵¹ (1727134) is a chronogram found in the 70th stanza of Śrīpādasaptati⁵² by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. This chronogram was first identified and submitted in an M.Phil dissertation by Sri. Bhārgavarāman, Department of Vyakarana, Sree Sankaracarya University of Sanskrit, Kalady, 2006. This chronogram corresponds to 1627 October 17 which is 803 Tulām 7 of the Utrāṭam star as arrived at by the calculation according to B.V. Rāman in the Prophet 3 (Supersoft Prophet) astrological program by S. Ajayalāl. It is generally accepted that Śrīpādasaptati is composed on the day of the 70th birthday of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.⁵³ Hence the chronogram at the 70th stanza is reasonable. The chronogram date is not much earlier than his

generally accepted dates which are largely only guessworks. If this chronogram is correct, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have completed Śrīpādasaptati on celebrating his 70th birthday on 1627 October 17, on the Utrāṭam star of Tulām 803. If so, he might have born on the Utrāṭam star of Tulām 733 which corresponds approximately to 1557 October or November.

Vanamālā vyākhyā of Nārāyaṇīya narrates his journey to Guruvāyūr to write Nārāyaṇīya. Melputtūr must have started from Trkkaṇṭiyūr after his early lunch on the Tiruvoṇam day, using a boat in the Ponnānipuḷa through Tirūr and must have reached Guruvāyūr the next day. He must have started the bhajana the very next day following it. It must be Ciñṇam 21st.⁵⁴ It is believed that he wrote every day a daśaka containing 10 stanzas. Nārāyaṇīya contains 100 daśakas and it was finished within 100 days. On the 100th day, he finished the last daśaka ending in āyurārogyasoukhyam. If so, the bhajana must have started on Catayam star. For two complete cycles of the 27 stars, it needs 54 days and 13 hours approximately or 54 or 55 days practically. Hence Nārāyaṇīya's 55th or 56th daśaka might have been written on a Catayam day too. According to the above date of birth of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, his 29th birthday comes on the Tulām Utrāṭam star of that year. Hence the 53^d daśaka of Nārāyaṇīya must have been written on the Utrāṭam star or the next day following it. It is a fact that the fifty third daśaka of Nārāyaṇīya contains autobiographical references. This daśaka is composed in a

style capable of being interpreted in two ways, one revealing the meaning as per Bhāgavata and the other expressing a monologue. The 70th stanza of Śrīpādasaptati contains the words denoting śeṣa twice (śeṣa and ahipati)⁵⁵. It is believed that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is an incarnation of Ananta. But ahipati is used in the stanza as Maheśvara and śeṣa as the only remaining. The words bhogāṅkatham prārthaye is perhaps the 'mām viddhi' of Śrīpādasaptati. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa also has claimed the work as a saptati in the seventy first stanza of the work.⁵⁶ These facts support the chronogram bhogāṅkatham prārthaye and hence it can be upheld for every purpose.

m) Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is generally believed to have composed a chronogram 'bālakaṭratram saukhyam'⁵⁷ (1729133) which corresponds to 1633 April 7 or 808 Meṭam 1. The popular story that Acyuta Piṣāroṭi asked him to make a Kali samkhyā seems reasonable on the fact that this chronogram refers to Meṭam first of a year which is very important for astrological calculations. The year 808 is having numerological peculiarity in its repetition of 8 also.

n) There is a chronogram like word 'babhūvātha vāsukī'⁵⁸ (1747443) in Tripuradahana⁵⁹ which corresponds to 1683 May 25. This date comes a few years after the death of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. But Uḷḷūr has no doubt in assigning the authorship of Tripuradahana to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Hence 'babhūvātha vāsukī' may not be a chronogram.

There is a granthavari available stating that the birth of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was in 1560.⁶⁰ R. Nārāyaṇapaṇikkar has opined that the birth of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is in 1560.⁶¹ K.Kuñṇuṇṇirājā is with the opinion that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa must have lived from 1560 to 1646 A.D.⁶² According to Venkita Subramonia Iyer, the period of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is 1560-1666.⁶³ According to M. Śrīdharamenon the date of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is believed to be between 1560 A.D. and 1660 A.D.⁶⁴ As stated earlier, based on the chronogram bhogāṅkatham prārthaye, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have born on the Utrāṭam star of Tulām 733 which corresponds approximately to 1557 October or November. From the first stanza of daśaka 53 of Nārāyaṇīya, it can be assumed that he was sent for education at Candanakkāvu at the age of 6 i.e. 1563. His earliest extant work Tārakavadha was completed on 1568 March 11 at the age between 10 and 11. It is believed that he lived at Candanakkāvu until he attained the age of 18-20.⁶⁵ At that age, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa went to Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr and proposed for a matrimonial alliance with a niece of Acyutapiṣāroṭi and the same was joyfully accepted.⁶⁶ Hence he must have married before 1577. The third śloka of daśaka 53 of Nārāyaṇīya also has reference in this regard. However he must have had connection with Candanakkāvu. That is why many of his works praising Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu and Bhagavati, and Nāvāmukunda are written even after his marriage and subsequent stay at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr. The chronogram

'śaśvanniśreyasāya' corresponding to 1586 June 24 is seen both in the Āśvalāyanakriyākrama and Sarvamatasamgraha alike,⁶⁷ as the maṅgaḷaślokaś of both contain the same verses. It can be assumed that these works are basically of the same nature and are rewritten as per requirement. However Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa fell into serious illness and for curing it, he went for bhajana at Guruvāyūr and completed Nārāyaṇīya on 1586 December 6. There is popular tradition that he has stayed for some more time at Guruvāyūr.⁶⁸ It may be during this time that he must have become one of the characters of the stories of Pūntānam Nampūtiri and others. The composition of Śrīguruvāyūpureśastotra was probably during this time. Śrīguruvāyūpureśastotra⁶⁹ is written not much later than Nārāyaṇīya. His ailment attacked him again severely causing him to fall down unconscious.⁷⁰ However he did not prefer to continue at Guruvāyūr. It seems that he returned to Trkkaṇṭiyūr in 1589 before writing Vyāsotpatti. But he again left his home after completing Kauntēyāṣṭaka in 1590 March 10 and returned back just before writing Koṭiviraha in 1593. It can be assumed that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have visited the Zamorin during that time. There is a muktaka describing his witnessing of a child birth in the family of the Zamorin. It is probable that this child is the later Zamorin Mānaveda.⁷¹ If Mānaveda is born between 1590 and 1593 he must be 62-65 year old on his assuming the title of the Zamorin in 830 M.E..⁷² This is in accordance with the present tradition too. It

is also probable that the Māna part of the Mānameyodaya was written at that time. The words Māna common to the work and the title of the Zamorin, and the fact that the Meya work was written by another author on the direction of the then Zamorin, support this averment. Moreover, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa do not praise any deity at the commencement of this work. If the work was at Ampalappuḷa,⁷³ there were more chances of quoting either the name of the Devanārāyaṇa or any of the names of Kṛṣṇa. As the technical śāstra works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa except vyākaraṇa works are his early works, Mānameyodaya alone cannot be a later work at Ampalappuḷa. It can be assumed that he has stayed at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr at least during the period between 1593 and 1600. During the reign of Vīrakerāḷavarmaṛājā of Kocci (776-790 M.E. = 1601-1605 A.D.),⁷⁴ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written two praśastis praising him and presented him the work at Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam⁷⁵ and elsewhere. He might have written some śaiva works during this time. He then might have gone to Vaikkam and met Godavarmaṛājā Koyil Tampurān and wrote Aṣṭamīcampū and Bimbaliśapraśati. Then he might have gone to Ampalappuḷa and met the Pūrāṭam Tirunāl Devanārāyaṇa who was born in 741 Meṭam and died 798 Dhanu 2.⁷⁶ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has admitted that he has gone to Devanārāyaṇa on his own after being attracted by him on hearing his merits.⁷⁷ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was just 8 years elder than Devanārāyaṇa. It seems that they have developed a strong intimate personal

relationship. Many of his works were written at Ampalappuḷa. Devanārāyaṇa fell ill at least three years before his death. The unnatural concluding words 'daivād bhāvinyavasthā mayi savidhagate māstu'⁷⁸ in the concluding verse of Rājasūya⁷⁹ is only an expression of the inability of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa to see the sufferings of his intimate friend Devanārāyaṇa. As stated in that verse Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa returned back to his residence at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr. It was in 1620 A.D., since the popular tradition is that he returned back just before the death of Acyutapiṣāroṭi.⁸⁰ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was present at the death bed of Acyutapiṣāroṭi on 1620 August 14.⁸¹ If the chronogram 'kamsajīvasramsāya' of Dhātukāvya is correct, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have gone back to Ampalappuḷa in 796 Karkkitaṁkam (1621 July - August) for a short visit to meet his friend Devanārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was in a hurry to return back to Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr as the anniversary of the death of Acyutapiṣāroṭi was approaching. However, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have conceded to Devanārāyaṇa's request to complete the śāstrakāvya Vāsudevavijaya of Vāsudevakavi and completed Dhātukāvya in three sargas and in three days.⁸² The Kali of the second day is given in the second stanza of the second sarga of Dhātukāvya. Then Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa immediately on his return to Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr, ventured in the composition of Rāmāyaṇaprabandha. The Yajñasaṁrakṣaṇaprabandha of this series was completed in 1622 August 10. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have written it while

staying at Trkkaṇṭiyūr. But we see him staying at Mukkola during the composition of Śrīpādasaptati. It can be assumed that his wife might have passed away by that time. The use of śeṣoḥam in the third line of the 70th stanza of Śrīpādasaptati supports this view. It is popularly accepted that he has stayed at Mukkola thereafter until his death, teaching disciples and composing the missing portions to complete his Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata prabandhas.⁸³

Kuṇṇirājā opines that the death of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was before 1655.⁸⁴ R. Nārāyaṇapaṇicker has opined that the death of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is in 1666. According to Venkita Subrahmonia Iyer, the period of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is 1560-1666.⁸⁵ According to some, the date of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is believed to be between 1560 A.D. and 1660 A.D.⁸⁶

Vaṭakkumkūr opines, "if Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had died in 841 M.E., he must have lived 8 years after the death of Mānaveda. If it is so, he must have respect towards Mānaveda and his works. But it is not seen so."⁸⁷

Mānaveda died in 833 A.D. (1658 February 15).⁸⁸ For argument sake, accepting the dates of Vaṭakkumkūr, the two options in this regard are (1) that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa lived at the age of 98 years at the death of Mānaveda or (2) that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa died 12 years earlier at the age of 86. In both chances it is not plausible to think that he must appreciate the

life and works of Mānaveda between his age of 86 and 98. It may be a truth that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has not identified Mānaveda as a man to be respected as alleged, until he attained 86 years. The fact is that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has given away all the worldly affairs after he had completed his saptati and written the Śrīpādasaptati. It is also not reasonable to expect a serious study of the works of Mānaveda by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa at that age when he suffers ailments due to old age. Hence the opinion accepted by Vaṭakkumkūr in his own work “Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭatiri” that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has lived for 106 years⁸⁹ alone is more reasonable.

Vaṭakkumkūr thinks that the usage of the word ‘prāṇ’ in the starting verse of Meya portion, written by Nārāyaṇa, of Mānameyodaya, the Māna part of which is completed by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is referring to his death.⁹⁰ So, according to Vaṭakkumkūr the phrase double of 53 years age by Neṭumpayil Koccukṛṣṇanāśān must be double of 33 or 43 years.⁹¹ Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written Śrīpādasaptati when he was 70 years old.⁹² In that case double of 33 is baseless. The averment on the basis of the dvitīyākṣaraprāsa of Koccukṛṣṇanāśān is also baseless since there is already dvitīyākṣaraprāsa between melputtūr and anpattimūnniraṭṭi. Moreover Koccukṛṣṇanāśān is always ready to drop the dvitīyākṣaraprāsa for the sake of meaning. Some examples from his Āranmuḷavilāsam Hamsappāṭṭu are given below.

nistrṇām sravantīnām yogamāy, pampayāyi
 triveṇī saṅgātparamennapololukunnu
 uttuṅgabhaṅgiyāya salilapravāhatto-
 ṭuttaragopurattin sopānaṅṇaḷittatṭi
 śāśvatamoḷukīṭunnucchṛtakīrtiyotum
 paścimadikkilulḷorkkānandaṁ vaḷarttūtān
 kalpāntakālattiṅkal meruvilirikkunno-
 repperum kaṇṭukaṇṭu rasikkunnatupole
 uttuṅgaveḷḷaṁ poṇṇi varunna kālattiṅka-
 luttaragopurattilirunnu kaṇṭīṭunnu ⁹³

His style of dvitīyākṣaraprāsa is very liberal and can be seen from the examples given above. Here the first two lines do not have any prāsa at all. The rhyming letters are 'ttu' and 'tta', 'śva' and 'ści', 'lpa' and 'ppe' and 'ttum' and 'tta' for dvitīyākṣaraprāsa. Accordingly 'npa' and 'lpa' in the lines starting from anpattimūnu rhyme better.

anpattimūnu vayassiraṭṭiyirunnuḷla,
 melpattūr paṭṭerikkum guruvāyuḷla dehaṁ. ⁹⁴

Hence there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of Neṭumpayil Koccukṛṣṇaṇ Āśān's mentioning of the life of Melpattūr in Āranmuḷavilāsam Hamsappāṭṭ, especially on the ground that Koccukṛṣṇaṇāśān belonged to the fifth generation

of Acyutapiṣāroṭi's disciples. Koccukṛṣṇanāśān has stated that his guru was his father Rāman whose guru was Pulimukhattupotti whose guru was the Ālādipravara of Nāvāyikkulam who in turn was the disciple of Trppāṇikkara Potuvāl who was the disciple of Acyutapiṣāroṭi whose disciple was Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.⁹⁵ Hence the opinion of Venkita Subrahmonia Iyer that there is no cause to doubt the genuineness of Koccukṛṣṇanāśān's lines is very reasonable.⁹⁶

The work of Mānameyodaya was taken up by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa much earlier. Once he has fully absorbed in bhakti or Vedanta, the ritualistic philosophy of Mīmāṃsā must have become irrelevant to him.⁹⁷ There is not enough justification to reject the traditional view about the date of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.⁹⁸

The tradition recorded by Kerala Varma Valiya Koyil Tampurān that Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita started to meet Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in person but returned disappointed being told on the way that he was dead⁹⁹ could only be imaginative and might be based on the admiration of these two giants in the Pāṇinian grammar of that period. The date of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita is c.1550-1630 A.D..¹⁰⁰ The chronogram 'bhogāṅkatham prārthaye' denoting the completion of Śrīpādasaptati corresponds to 1627 October 17, i.e. before approximately two years from the death of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita. Before settling at Mukkola, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa had renounced all worldly desires then. He engaged himself on

teaching¹⁰¹ and completing Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata prabandhas. The Bhārataprabandhas alone are very huge and cannot be imagined to have completed within two years. Even if it is admitted that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has lived only for 86 years, his death cannot be earlier than in 1643 A.D.. Hence it can be assumed that it is highly improbable to digest such a story. On the contrary there is also a tradition that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has started to meet Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita and returned back on the way on hearing that Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita has passed away.¹⁰² This story is more plausible than the former tradition.

Considering that his date of birth may be Tulām 733 or 1557 October or November and that he may have passed away at the age of 106, it can be assumed that he died in 839 M.E. or 1663 A.D..

CHAPTER III

WORKS OF MELPUTTŪR NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA

Out of the 121 works attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, there are one kāvya, two muktakas with Kali numbers, ninety prabandhas, six praśastis, fourteen śāstra works, four stotrakāvyas, a group of stray verses, two commentaries and an unclassified and unknown work. A list of these works with relevant data is included in Appendix II. The combination of such variety of subjects and styles and the superb skill in the art of creating excellent poetry make him superhuman as mentioned by Neṭumpayil Koccukṛṣṇan Āśān. His literary activities were greatly influenced by the various experiences undergone by him at different places and circumstances. He can be generally accepted as a pious poet with a fancy for wisdom, and having secular and liberal views to accept any kind of deity or mode of worship. He showed interest in religious and philosophical treatises in his teenage and early youthful days. But his prodigal and uncontrolled life when combined with hardships and sufferings lent him with acute collapse of bodily health which he regained only after reshaping his life style with firm resolution. His works attained the direction and depth of a wholesome vision of a life where he found his deity as his sole consoling entity. But soon he was forced to leave his abode and had to travel a lot and he

readily accepted under such circumstances any proposal to nourish his knowledge and power to versify. He praised kings and their gods. But he respected his grammar preceptor and patron king Devanārāyaṇa above any other human beings he had known. His attachment to his wife always dragged him back to Ṭṛkkaṇṭiyūr. Perhaps her death was the cause of his settling down at Mukkola. Then he immersed himself completely in teaching śāstras and writing prabandhas on the itihāsas. His works may be classified according to the style and period of his works as 1) Pre-Nārāyaṇīya works 2) Guruvāyūr works 3) Zamorin works 4) Later Ṭṛkkaṇṭiyūr works 5) Kocci works 6) Vaikkam works 7) Ampalappuḷa works 8) Mukkola works and 9) Unclassified works.

01 Pre-Nārāyaṇīya works

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's contribution to Sanskrit literature until his masterpiece kāvya Nārāyaṇīya comes under this category. Hence Pre-Nārāyaṇīya period covers the time between 1568 March 11 (cittam bāṇena sākam) and 1586 August 28 (100 days before āyurārogyasaukhyam). Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's probable major works of this period are Tārakavadha, Gajendramokṣa, Matsyāvatāra, Śūrpaṇakhāpralāpa or Niranunāsika, Āśvalāyanakriyākrama, Sarvamatasamgraha, Sūktaśloka, Tāṇṭams, Tantravārttika-nibandhana, and two works each of them having 1000 śloka describing the rites of Āśvalāyana and kauśītaka sūtras respectively. A few muktakas also belong

to this period. The works of this period are characterized by the prayers to the Candanakkāvu and Nāvā deities. Tārakavadha, Āśvalāyanakriyākrama and Sarvamatasamgraha contain chronograms. The chronograms of the Āśvalāyanakriyākrama and Sarvamatasamgraha are the same as they contain the same introductory verses. Hence it can be assumed that both these works were finalized from an original draft. Sarvamatasamgraha contains 147 verses on schools of thought as Nyāya, Mimāṃsā, Bauddha and so on.¹⁰³

Except for the four prabandhas and muktakas all works of this period are śāstra works. One of the texts of Gajendramokṣa contains the praise of Mukunda and another text has the praise of Gaṇapati intelligently interwoven with the theme of the work.¹⁰⁴ Hence it is assumed that Gajendramokṣa pertains to this period. The author refers himself as dvijendra which is similar to bhūsurendra which qualifies Nārāyaṇa as in the case of Rājasūya etc.

As the introductory verse praises Mukunda,¹⁰⁵ Matsyāvatāra may be considered as a Pre-Nārāyaṇīya work. The construction of the words 'dayite' and 'śivāya' gives a suggestion that Matsyāvatāra is written soon after his marriage and stay at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr.

Śūrpaṇakhāpralāpa or Niranunāsika is famous for the reference dvijapoto for its author. Hence it can be assumed

that it is an early work of the author. This work is probably written at Trkkaṇṭiyūr for Kuṭṭaṇceri Iravi Cākṃyār.¹⁰⁶

According to S. Venkita Subramonia Iyer Āśvalāyanakriyākrama is jointly written by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa and his father Mātrdatta.¹⁰⁷ But in the light of the chronogram śasvanniśreyasāya, it can be assumed that the work was done independently by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa at Trkkaṇṭiyūr after his marriage and just before the composition of Nārāyaṇiya. Sūktaślokaś also contain the introductory praise of Vighneśvara etc.¹⁰⁸ Hence it is an early work, probably written just after his Vedic education. Being written in the form of a Devīstuti, Sūktaślokaś describes the structural features of Ṛgveda like the number of chapters in each aṣṭaka and the number of sūktas in each chapter etc. It consists of nine verses in Sragdharā metre and the introductory verse follows the Kaṭapayādi notations. Tāṇṭams are made for the use of Vedic students. Even the Sūktaślokaś are included in Tāṇṭams.¹⁰⁹ The introductory verses of some Tāṇṭams probably written by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa are reproduced in KSSC.¹¹⁰ Vaṭakkumkūr has stated that many of the Tāṇṭams of Kerala can be attributed to Melputtūr on the ground that they contain the vandanaślokaś praising Gaṇeśa who is the prime deity at Candanakkāvu.¹¹¹ These verses praise the Candanakkāvu deities and hence they are early works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. Kāṇippayyūr has published some Tāṇṭams of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.¹¹² Tantravārttikaniibandhana is a

Pūrvamīmāṃsā work.¹¹³ Due to its śāstra nature, it can also be considered as an early work. The two works having 1000 ślokaś each on Āśvalāyana and kauśītaka sūtras, though not extant are considered as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's work.¹¹⁴ Due to its technical and śāstra nature, it can be assumed that these works may be pertaining to the Pre-Nārāyaṇīya period. A few muktakas also pertain to this period.¹¹⁵

02 Guruvāyūr works

Guruvāyūr works comprise of the two stotrakāvyas of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa namely Nārāyaṇīya and Śrīguruvāyupureśa-stotra and some stray verses. Nārāyaṇīya containing 1036 verses distributed in hundred daśakas, and composed in a variety of metres was written within 100 days and was completed on 1586 December 6. Śrīguruvāyupureśastotra was probably written on the very next year. Uḷḷūr also opines that it was written soon after the completion of Nārāyaṇīya. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written some stray verses during the Guruvāyūr period.¹¹⁶

03 Zamorin works

Mānavikramapraśasti or Śailābhdhīśvarapraśasti, Mānaparicceda of Mānameyodaya, Mānavedapraśasti, and some stray verses are included under this category. The stray verse on the child birth at Zamorin kovilakam has already been stated. Vaṭṭakkumkūr states that Mānavikramapraśasti is a śṛṅkhalāgadya praising Zamorin and quotes

“jaya jaya jaya lakṣmī nivāsa valabhe!
valabhedanapramukhanikhilavṛ-
ndārakavṛndasambhāvitaparākrama
parākramaṇorjjitasārabhujā-daṇḍa....”¹¹⁷

The same lines are quoted by Uḷḷūr as a portion of Śailāb dhīśvarapraśasti.¹¹⁸ Hence it can be assumed that both these works are the same. The words “sambhāvitaparākrama parākramaṇorjjita” suggests that this work is on Mānavikrama, not on Mānaveda who was not the then Zamorin. Though not mentioned in his Kerala Sāhitya Caritra, Uḷḷūr has published a śṛṅkhalāgadya titled Mānavedapraśasti in the Sāhitya Pariṣad Traimāsikam First Issue.¹¹⁹ However no further mentioning of the work is available from Vanamālā, Kerala Sāhitya Caritra or Kerala Samskr̥ta Sāhitya Caritra etc.. Hence there is a possibility that the work is Mānavikramapraśasti itself, on the ground that that work also is termed as śṛṅkhalāgadya. Mānapariccheda of Mānameyodaya deals with technical śāstra subjects which are the facets of early works of Melputtūr. Mānameyodaya starts with the following lines.

ācāryamatapāthodhau bālānapi niniṣatām
dhīmatām kopi gopālapotaḥ pota ivāstu naḥ¹²⁰

The construction of the words ācārya, pāthodhi, bālān, potaḥ etc. indirectly imply that Mānameyodaya is an early work. Moreover, many other reasons in this regard have already been stated earlier. Hence Mānameyodaya is a product of this period.

04 Later Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr works

Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr was the place where Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was married to and some of his early works were written there. But until Nārāyaṇīya the nature of his works remained similar and such works were classified as Pre Nārāyaṇīya works. Hence the present classification is termed as Later Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr works. Unlike the other categories Later Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr works do not pertain to a specific limited period, but comprises of all his works done at his home at Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr from Vyāsotpatti which is completed on 1589 October 27 and including all such works before Śrīpādasaptati completed at Mukkola on 1627 Oct 17. The works which he has written at Kocci, Vaikkam, Ampalappuḷa etc during this period are not included under this category. For instance the muktakas 'nadīpuṣṭīrasahyā' and 'he śabdāgama' are evidently the products of this period based on the chronograms and tradition. Most of the works of this period contain chronograms. They are also devoid of the praising of any deities. Considering the importance of these two verses in the interpretation of the life of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, they are considered as individual works in this thesis. Some other identified works of this category, apart from the stray verses are Vyāsotpatti, Kucelavṛtta or Kucelopākhyāna, Kauntēyāṣṭaka, Koṭiviraha, Yajñasamrakṣaṇaprabandha, Svāhāsudhākara, Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhana or Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā and a letter to scholars outside Kerala.

Vyāsoṭpatti also denotes the time of its author's home coming from Calicut. Kucelopākhyāna contains the lines

saha muktāmayairdāraigṛhe muktāmaye sukham

vasatastasya na cirādāsīnmuktātmatā muneḥ¹²¹

This gives an impression that Kucelopākhyāna¹²² is a work not much later than Nārāyaṇīya and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's recovery from illness and his union with his wife. After the completion of Kaunteyāṣṭaka in 1590 March 10, he might have left Trīkkaṇṭiyūr for a while and on return in 1593 and on the reunion with his spouse he composed Koṭiviraha too. Vaṭakkumkūr has a well thought opinion that Koṭiyaviraha is written by Maḷamaṅgalam Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri, but not by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.¹²³ It is evident that Koṭiyaviraha is a Maṇipravāla work¹²⁴ and that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has written nothing except in Sanskrit and Prākṛta. Hence it is assumed that Vaṭakkumkūr is talking about Koṭiviraha of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The chronogram bhūtāvivātyutsukau of Koṭiviraha denotes the date 1593 February 6. Maḷamaṅgalam Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri is supposed to have passed away in his 70th age in 770 M.E. (1595 A.D.).¹²⁵ If Maḷamaṅgalam is the author he must have written this śṛṅgārakāvya just before his death at the age of 68, which is highly improbable. But the chronogram supports Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa more and fits perfectly in the events of his life. On the basis of the similarity of theme and the treatment of the subject Svāhāsudhākara may

be a work written just after Koṭiviraha. Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhana or Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā pertains to a little later period than Dhātukāvya and it was sent to Tamil Nadu along with the letter to scholars outside Kerala.¹²⁶ In Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhana Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa defends the usage of certain words which are used even by Bhavabhūti and Murāri, but are incorrect according to the rules of Pāṇini. It has historical value also since it refers to some Sanskrit scholars of the Coḷa country like Yajñanārāyaṇa, Someśvara, Sudarśana and Vainateya. Yajñasamrakṣaṇaprabandha which is completed on 1622 August 10, reveals Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's interest in Rāmāyaṇa themes. Hence the tradition that he has written the Rāmāyaṇaprabandha after adding necessary portions at his old age becomes more relevant.

05 Kocci works

Major works under this category are Dakṣayajña, Kailāsavarṇana or Kailāśasailavarṇana, Pārvatisvayamvara, Tripuradahana, Māṭamahīśaprasāsti or Māṭarājaprasāsti, and Gośrīnagaravarṇana or Virakeraḷaprasāsti. These works generally praise either the Kocci king or his prime deity Śiva. The tradition of the chronogram Nadīpuṣṭirasahyā corresponding to 1611 June 29 reveals that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr at that time. Hence he might have started to Kocci only in 1611 or 1612. The Kocci works, therefore, might be written between 1612 and 1615 A.D., as this period

is the last three years of Virakeraḷavarmaṛājā's reign during 1612-1615. Māṭamahīśapraśasti or Māṭarājapraśasti is a praśasti with 18 ślokaś and a few śṛṅkhalāgadyaś. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa presented this work to Virakeraḷavarmaṛājā during his stay at Tṛkkaṇāmatilakam.¹²⁷ Uḷḷūr nameś Virakeraḷapraśasti aś Gośṛīnagaravarṇana aśo.¹²⁸ This work waś submitted to Virakeraḷavarmaṛājā in 779 M.E. (1613-1614 A.D.) and the same waś accepted by him.¹²⁹

Though Tripuradahana iś regarded aś a Kocci work, there iś equal chance for it to be a Vaikkam work. Soon after the death of Virakeraḷavarma, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have started for Vaikkam where he met Vaṭakkumkūr Godavarmaṛājā. There are some stray verśeś pertaining to thiś period.¹³⁰

06 Vaikkam workś

Aṣṭamīcampū or Aṣṭamīprabandha and Bimbaliśapraśasti are the only two workś under thiś category. Aṣṭamīcampū iś about the celebration of Vaikkattaṣṭamī. Ambādevi Tampurāṭṭi haś translated thiś campū into Malayalam.¹³¹ Bimbaliśapraśasti iś a praśasti on Vaṭakkumkūr Godavarmaṛājā. Theśe workś are written around 1615 A.D.. There are some stray verśeś which may be pertaining to thiś period.¹³²

07 Ampalappuḷa works

Ajāmilamokṣa, Pāñcālīsvayamvara, Santānagopāla, Subhadrāharaṇa, Syamantaka, Devanārāyaṇaprasāsti, Prakriyāsarvasva, Rājasūya, and Dhātukāvya belong to this category. These works are characterized by the praising of Devanārāyaṇa or various synonyms of his deity Kṛṣṇa. The works are more carefully written and many of them are greater in size. The prabandhas were written for the use of Kuṭṭaṇṇery Iravi Cākyār during the period from 1616 to 1620 A.D. Kuṭṭaṇṇery Iravi Cākyār was a courtier of Ampalappuḷa Pūrāṭam Tirunāl Rājā.¹³³ Devanārāyaṇaprasāsti in praise of the King is also one among the earlier in the category. The completion of Prakriyāsarvasva dates to 1617 March 10. The great personality Ampalappuḷa king fell ill seriously and it was so pitiful for Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa to see his great patron being helpless. Hence in Rājasūya he composed an unusual conclusion as follows:

daivād bhāvinyavasthā mayi savidhagate
māstvītyāttacetā-

ścaidyāriḥ saubharuddhām sapadi nijapurīmaśvayīd
viśvasākṣī.¹³⁴

As the lord did, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa also left his friendly king and went back to his home at Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr in 1620. Soon after his return he witnessed the death of Acyuta Piṣāroṭi on 1620 August 14. However, he could not resist his temptation to visit

Devanārāyaṇa again. Hence he might have gone back to Ampalappuḷa and his dear friend Devanārāyaṇa might have further requested him to complete Vāsudevavijaya of Vāsudevakavi. In a hurry Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have complied with his request and completed Dhātukāvya in three days and three sargas. The second sarga was written as per the chronogram on 1621 August 06. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has illustrated 1948 grammatical roots of Sanskrit in the work, following Mādhaviyadhātuvṛtti. Rāmapāṇivāda has written his Vivaraṇa commentary on it. After the completion of Dhātukāvya, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa might have returned back to Trkkaṇṭiyūr to participate in the anniversary rites of the death of his preceptor Acyuta Piṣāroṭi. There is no evidence to think that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has ever gone back to Ampalappuḷa thereafter, even at the actual demise of Devanārāyaṇa. Some stray verses of the Ampalappuḷa period also are available.¹³⁵

08 Mukkola works

Mukkola works comprise of the most extensive period and works of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. The period of Mukkola works starts with the composition of Śrīpādasaptati on 1627 October 17 and extends upto his death. The completion of Śrīpādasaptati which is composed in 71 verses of Śārdūlavikrīḍita, is followed by the writing of additional portions to make the existing campūs of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa with Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata themes into complete

Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa campūs. Some of the probable Mahābhārata campūs of this period are Ajñātavāsa, Ambopākhyāna, Aśvamedhaparva, Bakavadha, Bhagavaddūt or Dūtavākya or Kṛṣṇadūta,¹³⁶ Bhāratayuddha,¹³⁷ Bhīṣmaparva,¹³⁸ Bhīṣmasvargati,¹³⁹ Bhīṣmotpatti,¹⁴⁰ Citrāṅgadavadha, Dhṛtarāṣṭrotpatti, Digvijaya, Droṇaparva, Dyūtakriḍā, Gadāparva, Hiḍimbavadha, Jarāsandhavadha, Kalyāṇasaugandhika, Karṇakuṇḍalāpaharaṇa, Karṇaparva, Khāṇḍavadāha, Khoṣayātrā, Kirāta, Mausalaparva, Nālāyaṇīcarita or Draupadīpariṇaya, Nivātakavacavadha, Pāṇḍavotpatti,¹⁴¹ Pātracarita, Sabhāpraveśa,¹⁴² Śalyaparva, Satyavatīpariṇaya, Strīparva, Sundopasundopākhyāna, Suyodhanavadha, Svargārohaṇa, Vanavāsa,¹⁴³ Vyāsoḥpadeśa,¹⁴⁴ Yadukṣayaprabandha,¹⁴⁵ Yuddha¹⁴⁶ and Yudhiṣṭhirābhīṣeka.¹⁴⁷ However there are chances for some of the above works to be pertaining to the categories mentioned earlier. But as we do not have evidence to this effect these works are included under this classification. The same probability is applicable to the Rāmāyaṇaprabandhas of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa also.

The probable Rāmāyaṇaprabandhas which do not pertain to the earlier categories are Agniḥpraveśa,¹⁴⁸ Ahalyāmokṣa,¹⁴⁹ Aṅgulīyāṅga, Aśvamedha, Ayodhyāpraveśa,¹⁵⁰ Bālakāṇḍam kathā or Rāmakathā,¹⁵¹ Bālivadha, Kharavadha, Laṅkāpraveśa,¹⁵² Paraśurāmaṇvijaya,¹⁵³ Paṭṭābhīṣeka,¹⁵⁴ Rākṣasotpatti or Rajanīcarotpatti or Rāvaṇodbhava,¹⁵⁵

Rāmacandracarita,¹⁵⁶ Rāvaṇavadha, Sītāparityāga, Sītāsvayamvara, Sugrīvasakhya, Tāṭakāvadha, Udyānapraveśa and Vicchinnābhiṣeka.¹⁵⁷ The stray verse on vyākaraṇa praising Kṛṣṇa is probably of this period.¹⁵⁸ Muktiṣṭhala Ṣodasa Stotram, a stotrakāvya praising the Muktola Bhagavati also pertains to this period.

09 Unclassified works

Due to the inadequacy of information some works attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa remain unclassified. A few of such works are Kirātārjjunavijaya,¹⁵⁹ Nāradamohana,¹⁶⁰ Rugmāṇadacarita,¹⁶¹ Vikramasenacampū,¹⁶² Camatkāracintāmaṇi,¹⁶³ Caturaṅgāṣṭaka,¹⁶⁴ Kauśītaka-sūtrakriyā-saṅgraha,¹⁶⁵ some of his various muktakas, Vyākhyā of the śloka "Puṣpodbheda" of Amarukaśataka, Vyākhyā of three ślokas of the 11th skandha of Bhāgavata starting from 'yadyasajjanma', Bhasmaṇiṣedha,¹⁶⁶ Rāsavilāsa¹⁶⁷ and Kūrmāvatāra.¹⁶⁸

Bhasmaṇiṣedha is believed to be a work against Śaivism.¹⁶⁹ Rāsavilāsa is a kāvya in three cantos.¹⁷⁰ Kerala University Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library has published the commentary on Puṣpodbheda in the Amaruśataka.¹⁷¹ Among the above, on considering the theme and the circumstances, Camatkāracintāmaṇi which is a jyotiṣa work and Kauśītakasūtrakriyāsaṅgraha may be pertaining to the Pre-Nārāyaṇīya period and Caturaṅgāṣṭaka and the two

vyākhyās may be pertaining to the Ampalappuḷa works. Uḷḷūr thinks that Kūrmāvatāra may be of Melputtūr.¹⁷² There are some stray verses of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa the periods of which are uncertain.¹⁷³

10. Campūprabandhas of Melputtūr

The exact number of the campū works by Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is not quite certain. His name as author is mentioned only in a few cases like Rājasūya, Svāhāsudhākara, Niranunāsika, Dūtavākya etc. The name Kṛṣṇadūta is seen assigned to Dūtavākya. There is also a stanza quoted therein at the end specifying Nārāyaṇa as the author.¹⁷⁴ But the use of the word 'adya' therein without chronogram and the lack of that verse in many of other texts are sufficient to doubt the authenticity of these lines.

According to some, Cunakkara Uṇṇikṛṣṇavāriyar has translated all campūs of Melputtūr.¹⁷⁵ But according to Uḷḷūr, Cunakkara Uṇṇikṛṣṇavāriyar (1865-1936) has translated Bhāratacampū (1918), Aṣṭamīprabandha (1919), Niranunāsika (1923), Kirāta (1925), Dūtavākya (1925), Kailāsavarṇana (1926), Nṛgamokṣa (1926), Rājasūya (1928), Pāñcālīsvayamvara (1929), Draupadīpariṇaya (1929), Kucelavṛtta (1930), Svāhāsudhākara (1930), Ajāmiḷamokṣa (1930) and Subhadrāharṇa (1930) into Malayalam. Cunakkara has also an independent work Nāradamohana. It is

imcomplete.¹⁷⁶ There are some other translations also like that of Aṣṭamīcampū by Ambādevi Tampurāṭṭi.¹⁷⁷

According to Uḷḷūr, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is doubtlessly the author of the twenty prabandhas namely Rājasūya, Dūtavākya, Pāñcālīsvayamvara, Nālāyaṇīcarita, Sundopasundopākhyāna, Subhadrāharaṇa, Kaunteyāṣṭaka, Kirāta, Kailāsavarṇana, Matsyāvatāra, Nṛgamokṣa, Niranunāsika, Rākṣasotpatti, Ahalyāmokṣa, Bālakāṇḍamkathā, Dakṣayajñā, Tripuradahana, Aṣṭamīcampū, Svāhāsudhākara and Koṭiviraha.¹⁷⁸ According to some, Gajendramokṣa and Kalyāṇasaugandhika¹⁷⁹ and the Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa prabandhas also are the campū works of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.¹⁸⁰ All the other prabandhas stated in this thesis are attributed to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa by many scholars.

Uḷḷūr mentions Bālakāṇḍamkathā as one of the prabandhas of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.¹⁸¹ But S. Venkita Subramonia Iyer in his Kerala Sanskrit Literature - A Bibliography says that the work is a gadyakāvya. This work is also known as Rāmakathā.¹⁸² C.R.Deśpāṇḍe considers Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa as the author of Rāmacandracarita.¹⁸³

Bhārataprabandha was published by C.K.Rāman Nampiyār in the Prabandhāvali series, Ūrakam, 1930.¹⁸⁴ Rāmāyaṇaprabandha was published with a Malayalam commentary by Perumanam Rāman Nampiyār in the Prabandhāvali series Part I.¹⁸⁵ Many of the verses and gadya

of Rāmāyaṇaprabandha contain portions from Bhojacampū, Raghuvaṃśa, Anargharāghava, Mahānāṭaka, Bhāratacampū, Māgha, Abhijñānaśākuntala, Bhāṣārāmāyaṇacampū, Kṛṣṇavilāsa, Vātmikīrāmāyaṇa, Rāmacaritam (gadya) etc. Hence Rāmāyaṇaprabandha is not considered as an independent work.¹⁸⁶

Considering the similarity between the ślokaś of Cellūrnāthodaya and Aṣṭamīprabandha, the self-flattering of the author which is not normally expectable from Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and the use of rhetorically invalid words, T.G. Rāmacandran Piḷḷai assumes that the work Aṣṭamīprabandha is of Nīlakaṇṭha.¹⁸⁷ Nīlakaṇṭha and Melputtūr were contemporaries.¹⁸⁸ Uḷḷūr, Vaṭakkumkūr and other scholars, on verification of the literary qualities find no reason to doubt the authorship of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in the case of Aṣṭamīprabandha. The alleged self flattering¹⁸⁹ is really a flattering of the blessings of campūkāvya as a whole and not of the author in particular. Like Bhoja, the author also is lavishing praise on the campū style to reveal his concept on campūkāvya. The use of 'mayā' etc. here and there need not be considered as an expression of pride or egoism, but it has to be taken as a necessary evil in the construction of a vṛttabandhikāvya. Hence Aṣṭamīprabandha can be regarded as a work of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa until other strong evidences are available in this regard. Nālāyaṇicarita which is considered as the second part of Pāñcālīsvayamvara is taken from Pañcendropākhyāna.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa uses difficult grammatical formations in this prabandha. It contains two long prose passages in Prākṛt revealing his command on that language too.¹⁹⁰

According to T.G.Rāmacandranpiḷḷai, the first stanza of Pauṇḍrakavadha of Aśvatitirunāl is also seen in Santānagopālprabandha. He states that at the conclusion of the prabandha, there is a verses specifying that the author is Vaṅcikumbhinyadhīśa.¹⁹¹ and that Santānagopāla and Pauṇḍrakavadha are written by the same author i.e. Aśvatitirunāl.¹⁹²

The text of Santānagopalāprabandha as published in Prabandhasamāhāra, Part II, 1980, page 3 and Prabandhamañjarī by N.P.Uṇṇi, 1998, page 229-231 do not contain the above said stanza. While specifically mentioning the Santānagopālprabandha of Aśvatitirunāl, Uḷḷūr also states about a small Santānagopālprabandha which is used by cākyārs and the other belonging to Aśvatitirunāl.¹⁹³ That work also is not the one published in Prabandhamañjarī of N.P.Uṇṇi. Vaṭakkumkūr specifically mentions that Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is the author of a Santānagopāla.¹⁹⁴ Hence it can be assumed that the Santānagopālas authored by Aśvatitirunāl and Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa are different.

Rājasūya, Subhadrāharaṇa and Pāñcālīsvayamvara are the best of campūs of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.¹⁹⁵ Niranunāsika is his first Rāmāyaṇa work with a phonetic peculiarity.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in the concluding verse of Niranunāsika¹⁹⁶ states himself as 'dvijapotaḥ'. The word 'pota' means a baby. So Niranunāsika may be one of his earliest campūs. But in Rājasūya, he addresses himself as Nārāyaṇabhūsurendraḥ. So he must be highly confident and established by that time. The subject matter and the attire of himself as an authority in Śrauta and Mīmāṃsā give rise to the idea that Rājasūya is a later work. It is Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's last prabandha at Ampalappuḷa. Subhadrāharaṇa deals with love and its rhetoric merits make it particularly mellifluous. It is one of the Ampalappuḷa works too. So from these references the only possible chronology of these three prabandhas can be 1) Niranunāsika 2) Subhadrāharaṇa and 3) Rājasūya.

11. Recapitulation

Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa was born in Melputtūr Illam on the Utrāṭam star of 733 Tulām i.e., 1557 October or November. He was educated at Candanakkāvu, Tirunāvāya and Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr. He got married and had a son. He wrote "Tārakavadha" at a very young age. The writing of Nārāyaṇīya was a turning point in his life. He traveled from Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr to Guruvāyūr, Kolikoṭ, Kocci, Vaikkam and Ampalapuḷa. When Devanārāyaṇa fell in prolonged illness Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa returned to Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr in 1620 A.D.. He spent a few more years at Tr̥kkaṇṭiyūr after the death of Acyutapiṣāroṭi and left for Mukkola to worship the Bhagavati there. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

has given a large number of chronograms in his works among which 'cittam bāṇena sākam', 'śaśvanniśreyasāya', 'āyurārogyasaukhyam', 'ca tīragāḥ pathikāḥ', 'anavabuddhya siddhyat', 'bhutāvivātyutsukau', 'nadīpuṣṭirasahyā', 'yatnaḥ phalaprasūḥ syāt', 'kṛtarāgarasoḍdya', 'vidyātmā svarasarpāt', 'kamsajīvasramsāya', 'śvaramakhaṁ samyak', 'bhogāṅkathaṁ prārthaye', and 'bālakaḷatraṁ saukhyam' are acceptable; but 'samsaratyarke samyak' and 'babhūvātha vāsukī' are not valid chronograms.

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa left his home to Kolikoṭ after completing Kaunteyāṣṭaka in 1590 March 10 and returned back just before writing Koṭiviraha in 1593. The muktaka describing his witnessing of a child birth in the family of the Zamorin is probably about the later Zamorin Mānaveda. Probably Māna part of the Mānameyodaya was written at that time.

After coming back from Ampalappuḷa, he again visited there in 796 Karkkiṭakam for a short stay and wrote Dhātukāvya in three sargas and in three days. He must have started the composition of Rāmāyaṇaprabandha before 1622 August 10. Probably after the death of his wife he stayed at Mukkola teaching disciples and composing the missing portions to complete his Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata prabandhas. He passed away in 839 M.E. or 1663 A.D..

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is attributed with the authorship of at least 120 works comprising of of stray verses, campūs,

praśastis, śāstra works on grammar, philosophy, jyotiṣa, chess, Veda and its rituals, stotrakāvyas, vyākhyas etc. His works may be classified according to the style and period of his works as

- 1) Pre-Nārāyaṇīya works 2)
- 2) Guruvāyūr works
- 3) Zamorin works
- 4) Later Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr works
- 5) Kocci works
- 6) Vaikkam works
- 7) Ampalappuḷa works
- 8) Mukkola works and
- 9) Unclassified works.

At least 90 campū works are attributed to Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. somapuṇyayute varṣe
vṛścikepyaṣṭamejhani
kartunārāyaṇīyasya
pratimeyam pratiṣṭhitā
kāruṇāguru vāteśa
kāruṇyāmṛtapāyinā
dattena nirmitā dattā
pratimāpratimā nanu
2. <http://www.guruvayurdevaswom.org/narayaneeyam.shtml>
3. bhūkhaṇḍe keralākhye saritamiha niḷāmuttareṇaiva nāvā-
kṣetrād gavyūtimātre punaruparinavagrāmanāmnī svadhāmni
dharmiṣṭhād bhaṭṭatantrādyakhilamatapaṭor mātṛdattadvijendrā-
jjāto nārāyaṇākhyo niravadatulām devanārāyaṇājñām.
4. śrīnārāyaṇanāmakoparinavagrāmasvadhāmābhidha-
kṣoṇidevakaviprakāṇḍaracitaṁ yaddhātukāvyam śubham.
(DN, page 279)
5. CKSL, page 121
6. KSC, Volume II, page 386
7. Vanamālā, page 8
8. CKSL, page 120
itthaṁ bhāgavatastotraṁ svāgrajena vinirmitam
vyalikhanmātṛdattākhyo bhagavadbhaktipūrtaye
9. Vanamālā, page 9
10. MVP, page 4
11. CKSL, page 121
12. Vanamālā, page 23
13. Ibid, page 304-307
14. Published in the Kāvyaṁālā, Bombay, HCSL, page 256
15. Vanamālā, page 21
16. Ibid, page 14
17. Malayālabhāṣācaritram, page 145, PKAAS, page 90
18. Vanamālā, page 31

19. Ibid, page5, page 21
20. PS, Preface, page 5
21. Ibid, page 5
22. Vanamālā, page 24
23. Ibid, page 26-29
24. Bissy, page 52
25. Ibid, page 58
26. PKAAS, page 60
27. KSC, Volume II, page 392
28. Vanamālā, page 25
29. PM, page 288
30. Journal of the Kerala University Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library Vol. XXI, Part I, 1976, page 3-30
31. Ibid, page 30
32. Ibid, page 3
33. Vanamālā, page 610
34. PM, page 171
35. Ibid, page 168-171
36. Pāñcālīsvayamvaraṁ Campūprabandha by Cunakkara Uṇṇikṣṇa Vāriyar, Koṭṭakkal, 1930, Avatārikā page 2
37. KSC, Volume II, page 394-395
38. PM, page 126-127
39. Ibid, page 126
40. Ibid, page 326
41. Ibid, page 311-326
42. Vanamālā, page 27-28
43. PS, page 2
44. NPSACS, page 26-27
45. itīrito bhūpatināmunā punaḥ
kṣaṇe kṣaṇe śikṣitarītikauśalaḥ
asādhyavastunyapi sampravṛttavan
mahārṇave pota ivānilāśrayāt. (PS, page 2)
46. PS, page 134

vṛttiṁ taddhradattarāṁavivṛtiṁ bhāṣyādikāṁ kaumudīm
 tadvyākhyāṁapi dhātuvṛttiyugaḷaṁ daivañca kalpadrumam
 bhojoktidvayadaṇḍanāthavivṛtiṁ bhṭṭyādikāvyatrayam
 tisraścāmarakośanāṁavivṛtiḥ samprekṣya samkṣipyate.

47. Vanamālā, page 6
48. DN, page 77
49. Journal of Manuscript Studies, Volume XXXV, 2001-2002, page 14
50. Ibid, page 12-14
51. Bhārgavarāman, page 181
52. Ibid, page 170-181
53. Vanamālā, page 6, 24
54. Vanamālā, page 17
55. āśīrasti mukhe viḍambayati mām bhūyoḥpi cāśisprhā
 bhogāḥ santi sahasradhā punaraham bhogāṅkatharṁ prārthaye
 śeṣoḥham sprhayāmyaśeṣasukhamityetacca hāsāspadam
 nāthe cintaya sarvamityahipateṣvatpādapāto jayet
56. pārvatyā padamatra dṛśyāmiti vā pāde bhavatvena vā
 sādhutvāttadupāstaye hitatayā padyānyamūni sphuṭam
 saiṣā muktipurigirīndratanaḥ bhaktena nārāyaṇe-
 nābaddhā khalu saptatirdiśatu vaḥ kalyāṇahallohalam.
57. KSC, Volume II, page 387
58. PM, page 287
59. PM, page 286-287
60. CKSL, page 131
61. Ibid, page 131
62. Ibid, page 134
63. NPSACS, page 21
64. SNACES, page 256
65. Vanamālā, page 12
66. Ibid, page 12
67. Vanamālā, page 10 and Journal of the Kerala University Oriental
 Research Institute and Manuscript Library, Volume XXI, Part I (Half
 yearly), 1976, page 3

68. Vanamālā, page 20
69. KSC, Volume II, page 402
70. Vanamālā, page 21
71. Ibid, page 35-36
72. KSSC, Volume III, page 223
73. KSC, Volume II, page 391-392
74. Vanamālā, page 31
75. KSC, Volume II, page 404
76. Ibid, page 389
77. PS, page 1
78. PM, page 35
79. Ibid, page 1-35
80. KCS, Volume II, page 392
81. Vanamālā, page 23
82. Ibid, page 60, KCS, Volume II, page 428
83. Vanamālā, page 24, 42
84. CKSL, page 132
85. NPSACS, page 21
86. SNACES, page 256
87. KSSC, Volume III, page 5
88. KSC, Volume III, page 1
89. KSSC, Volume III, page 5
90. pṛthivīrtrajitā nitāntamahitenaitena sañcoditai-
rasmābhiḥ kṛśaśemuṣīvilasitairabhyāśahīnairapi
prāñnārāyaṇasūriṇā viracitaṁ tanmānameyodayam
mohāt pūrayituṁ kṛtā matiriyam santaḥ prasīdantu naḥ
(KSSC, Volume III, page 5-6)
91. KSSC, Volume III, page 6-7
92. Vanamālā, page 24
93. AVH, page 23
94. Ibid, page 21
95. Ibid, page 20-21
96. NPSACS, page 23

97. Ibid, page 22
98. Ibid, page 26
99. Ibid, page 23
100. P.K. Gode, Studies in Indian Literary History Vol. I, 1959,
Page 65-74, NPSACS, page 23
101. Vanamālā, page 24
102. SVSKI, page 205
103. Bissy, page 80, TSS No.245, 1977; 47&48. (Manuscripts in the
collection of the late E.V.Raman Nambutiri, Tvm), Journal of the
Kerala University Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts
Library, Volume XXI, Part I (Half yearly), 1976, page 3-30
104. pr̥thvīpālānanamrānatulitamahimā vairabhājo vijitya
śrīmān sāmādyupāyairjālanidhivasanāmātmasātkṛtya pr̥thvīm
bhuktvā bhogānaśeṣāmścīramabhilaṣitān muktasaṅgaśca pāṇḍye-
śvīndradymnābhīdhāno narapatirabhavanmagnacetā mukunde.
(PM, page 217)
uttuṅgamastakavirājitarājabālam
mattadvipendraravarapūruṣaśīrṣamūrti
pratyūhasamhativihanṛkamatyudāram
citte cakāstu mama kiṇcana vastu nityam (PM, page 222)
105. kiṁ matsyākṛtimāśrīto'ṣi dayite! tvannetramaitrīrasāt
kiṁ te toyagatiḥ sukhāya bhavatī tatsambhavetyādarāḥ.
śocyā nanvanimeṣatā tava katharṁ tvām paśyato no bhave-
ditthaṁ sallapitaṁ mukundaramayormugdhaṁ śivāyāstu vaḥ.
(PM, page 180)
106. Vanamālā, page 314
107. NPSACS, page 11
108. Vanamālā, page 51-52
109. Ibid, page 52
110. KSSC, Volume III, page 31
111. Ibid, page 31
112. Vanamālā, page 52
113. Ibid, page 67

114. KSC, Volume II, page 396
115. śāstrāsaṅgena śuddhā matiriva viduṣāṃ vṛttirauttānapādī-
vādīvyollāsayaṅti surucirasikatāmeva dākṣiṇyagatyā
satkurvvāṇānukūlasthitamasuraripuṃ yogibhirdhyeyamantaḥ
sārasyenāṅgabhūtāpahṛdiva taruṇī bhāsate sā niḷeyam
(Vanamālā, page 28)
magnaṃ mahāmohamaye mahābdhau
mandaṃ mahātman! mamatākulena
kṛpāpayodhe! manasoddharāmum
kṛtvoḍupaṃ jñānamayaṃ prapannam
(KSC, Volume II, page 386-387)
116. he rogā nanu yūyameva suhṛdo yairnnisṛḥoḥham kṛtaḥ
kāvyālamkṛtitarkakavidasabhāyogeṣu bhogeṣu ca
no cet kṛṣṇapadāravindabhajanāṃ vedāntacintāmapi
tyaktvā śvaḥ śva iti bhramādaharaharyāmeva yāmyāṃ purīm.
(Vanamālā, page 18)
yaḥ kṛtvā viśvaraṅgaṃ rajaniyavanikaṃ projvaladbhānudīpam
śaśvatsantuṣṭasamprekṣakamakhilajagadbhrāntināṭyaṃ vitatya
karmmaukhoccaṇḍamārddhaṅgikalayaśagāṇ vāsanāgānasaktāṇ
jīvacchātrāṇ mukundaḥ svayamabhiramate kriḍayan soḥstu bhūtyai.
(Vanamālā, page 27)
cetovātāyavetacchṛṇu nayanāsudhādhāyinaṛījanāṅga-
sphītadhvāntāndhakūpe capala nipata mā lūnapakṣo yathā viḥ
bhūyo bhūyastareḥrthādikadavadahane cāntakavyādhavaktre,
netrānandasya jivānilanilayālasad brahmanakañjaṃ bhajethāḥ
(Vanamālā, page 28)
117. KSSC, Volume III, page 22
118. KSC, Volume II, page 405
119. Vanamālā, page 30-31
120. Ibid, page 65
121. PM, page 239
122. Ibid, page 232-239
123. KSSC, Volume II, page 529

124. KSC, Volume II, page 467-468
125. Ibid, page 326
126. KSSC, Volume III, page 27
127. KSC, Volume II, page 404
128. Vanamālā, page 31
129. racanālalanāmudyat padavinyāsakomaḷām
urarīkṛtavān hanta rantuṁ pratidinaṁ vibhuḥ (Vanamālā, page 31)
130. sthāṇusannapi nanvaho! bahutaraiśśākhāsatairllakṣyase
dakṣadhvamsakaropi viśvabharāṇe tvaṁ dakṣa eva svayam
sarvajñopi ca bālamandanilaye līlāyase; kinnvidam
vaiṣamyam cariteṣu visphurati te bhuteśa! netreṣviva
(KSC, Volume II, page 406)
131. KSC, Volume V, page 145
132. dhāmāni vyāghrapuryāṁ prakāṭitanijabhūmāni nityam prapuṣyad-
gaṅgāsaṅgatvarāṇi kṣitidharasutayā sādhu saṅgatvarāṇi
etāni sphītapahālekṣaṇadahanaśikhāgaḍhalīdhasmarāṇi
vyāmūḍhairasmarāṇi praṇatajanatamoghasmarāṇi smarāṇi
(KSC, Volume II, page 406)
tvaddhāmnā kañcanādrau dravati suragaṇāḥ prāpurārtā viriñcam;
soyam prāgeva śambhuṁ śaraṇamupagataḥ pañkajamḷānikhinnah;
śambhuḥ prāgeva yāto rajatagirivināśākulaḥ padmanābham;
sopi kṣīrābdhiśoṣādavaśamatiragāttvanmanīṣām viśālām.
(KSC, Volume II, page 406)
133. MVP, page 13
134. PM, page 35
135. śrūyate nīlakaṇṭhoktī rājahamsaśca modate
kaḥ kāla iti no jāne vārṣikaśśārādopi vā (KSSC Volume III, page 23)
bhīmasenagadātrastā duryodhanavarūthini
śikhā khārvāṭakasyeva karṇamūlamupāśritā
(KSSC Volume III, page 25)
avyañjanastārkyaketuryatpadaṁ khatayīṣyati
tatte bhavatu kalpāntam devanārāyaṇa prabho.
(KSSC Volume III, page 26)

nālaṁ bālaṁrgīdrśāṁ kucataṭādvyaṁvarttituṁ kutracin-
nnālaṁ vā saraseṣu kāvyasarasālāpeṣvanālocitum
lolaṁ me hṛdayaṁ tathāpi gaganasrotasvinīsaṁginam
lolambadyutilobhanīyavapuṣaṁ bālaṁ batālabate.

(KSC Volume II, page 405)

The word gaganasrotasvinī means Ampalappuḷa here.

nārāyaṇīyā karuṇā manojñā

saivārthanīyā suratotsukānām

puṇyena labhyā yadi labhyateḥsā-

vasuvyayopyutsava eva nṛṇām (KSC Volume II, page 407)

136. KSC Volume II, page 395

137. HCSL, page 256

138. KSC Volume II, page 395

139. KSSC, Volume III, page 59

140. KSC Volume II, page 394

141. Ibid, page 395

142. KSSC, Volume III, page 59

143. KSC Volume II, page 395

144. KSSC, Volume III, page 59

145. Journal of Manuscript Studies, Volume XXXV, 2001-2002, page 10

146. KSSC, Volume III, page 106

147. KSC Volume II, page 395

148. Bissy 143

149. KSC Volume II, page 393

150. Bissy 143

151. KSC Volume II, page 393

152. Bissy 143

153. Journal of Manuscript Studies, Volume XXXV, 2001-2002, page 10

154. Bissy 143

155. KSC Volume II, page 393

156. Bissy 139

157. Ibid, page 143

158. kṛṣṇo rakṣatu mām carācaraguruḥ kṛṣṇaṁ namasye sadā

kr̥ṣṇenaiva surakṣitoḥhamasakṛt kr̥ṣṇāya dattaṁ manaḥ
kr̥ṣṇādeva samudbhavo mama vibhoḥ kr̥ṣṇasya dāsoḥsmyaham
kr̥ṣṇe bhaktiracañcalāstu bhagavān he kr̥ṣṇa tubhyaṁ namaḥ
(Vanamālā, page 27)

159. Journal of Manuscript Studies, Volume XXXV, 2001-2002, page 10
160. KSSC, Volume III, page 59
161. KSC Volume II, page 394
162. Bissy, page 143
163. Vanamālā, page 67
164. Ibid, page 29-30
165. Ibid, page 67
166. KSC Volume II, page 396
167. Bissy, page 80
168. Ibid, page 128
169. KSC Volume II, page 417
170. Bissy, page 80
171. Manuscript No. COL 1658, Bissy, page 79
172. KSC Volume III, page 75
173. bhāṣante bhasmalepaṁ tava sitahasitacchāyameva smarāreḥ;
phālaṁ te nākanadyāṁ pratiphalitamaho! bālacandraṁ vadanti
nīlaṁ te bāhuvalīrucibharamaṇīśaṁ gāḍhakaṇṭhagraheṣu
vyālīnaṁ taṁ kumārīpuragiritanaye! hālamityālapanti.
(Kumaranallur Bhagavati) (KSC Volume II, page 406)
āstāṁ pīyūṣalābhassumukhi garajarāmṛyutyuhārī prasiddha-
stallābhopāyacintāpi ca garaḷajuṣo heturullākhatāyāḥ
no cedālolaḍṛṣṭipratibhayabhujagīdaṣṭamarmmā muhuste
yāmevālambya jīve kathamadharasudhāmādhurīmapyajāna
(Strīcāṭu) (KSC Volume II, page 407)
174. nārāyaṇābhidhamahisuravarya-
vaktrajaivātrīkāmrītajharīnikarāyamāṇam
hr̥ḍyaṁ prabandhamidamadya samāptamudyadgadyam
samastamanavadyavirājipadyam
(CKSL, page 145)

175. SVK Volume 10, Page 627
176. KSC Volume V, page 19-20
177. KSC Volume V, page 145
178. KSC Volume II, page 393
179. VSVK, Volume V, page 251
180. SVK Volume 10, page 626
181. KSC Volume II, page 393
182. Bissy, page 136
183. Ibid, page 139
184. Vijñānadīpika, Volume II, page 116-138 (Bissy, page 139)
185. Keraḷa Sāhitya Caritraṁ - Carcayurṁ Purāṇavurṁ Volume I, page 329-335, K. Rāghavanpilla, Rājasūyaprabandharṁ, Introduction page i-iii, Dr.K.M. George, Sāhityacaritraṁ Prasthānaṁṇalilūṭe, page 442, (Bissy, Page 143).
186. KSSC, Volume III, page 48-49
187. NBC, page 207
188. Ibid
189. santaḥ santanyamānāmiha sapadi mayā gadyapadyasvarūpā-
māsvādyāsvādyā vāñirṁ gaḷadamṛtarasāṁ santu santuṣṭacittāḥ
phullanmallīlatāyā iva mṛdupavanaspandanādolitāyā
mandarṁ mandarṁ sravantīṁ madhurasalaharīṁ puṣpataḥ
ṣaṭpadaughāḥ (PM, page 289)
190. PM, page 82
191. See foot note 38
192. NBC, page 31
193. KSC Volume III, page 77
194. KSSC, Volume III, page 59
195. NPSACS, page 16
196. PM, page 256



APPENDIX I

A POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION OF SOME ŚLOKAS OF THE DAŚAKA 53 OF NĀRĀYANĪYA

1. atītya bālyam jagatāmpate, tva-
mupetya pauganḍavayo manojñam
upekṣya vatsāvanamutsavena
prāvartathā gogaṇapālanāyām.

Ye, Ātman, who is the master of all worlds, completing
your five years of infancy and entering into boyhood,
renouncing the embrace of your mother, mirthfully you were
engaged in the protection of the multitude of words.

2. upakramasyānuguṇaiva seyam
maruṭpurādhīśa, tava pravṛttiḥ
gotrāparitrāṇakṛteḥvatīrṇa-
stadeva devārabhathāstadā yat.

Ye, Master of the Body, which is the city of the five
breaths, your such action was fit for your initiation into the
world of education, because you were incarnated for the
protection of words, the blissful Gāyatri, and the earth and ye,
the Blessed One, you have commenced the same then.

3. kadāpi rāmeṇa samam vanānte
vanaśriyam vīkṣya caran sukhena
śrīdāmanāmnah svasakhasya vācā
modādagā dhenukakānanam tvam.

Once when you were traveling joyfully, enjoying the wild beauty inside the forest, like Rāma who was exiled from his home; hearing the advice of a known destitute friend of yours, you entered happily into the wild world of sex.

4. uttālatālīnivahe tvaduktyā
balena dhuteṣṭha balena dorbhyām
mr̥duḥ kharaścābhyapatat purastāt
phalotkaro dhenukadānavoṣpi.

Oh, my spouse, on your mighty advice, when huge bunches of palms were forcefully fallen with both hands, then the easy and the hard fruits fell there, and the monster of sex too fell.

5. samudyato dhainukapālāneṣṭham
katham vadham dhainukamadya kurve
itīva matvā dhruvamagrajena
suraughayoddhāramajīghatastvam.

As if thinking, “when I am obliged to in the protection of sex, how can I kill it today?” you have definitely caused the elder brother to kill the one who has fought always against the variety of liquor.

6. tadīyabhṛtyānapi jambukatve-
nopāgatānagrajasamyutastvam
jambūphalānīva tadā nirāsthā-
stāleṣu khelan bhagavan, nirāsthah.

Ye, the Blissful, You have put down in the palms playfully as if with the Jambu fruits, with such detachment which is coexistent and early born, his crowd of evil servitude which was come down by your own vice.

7. vinighnati tvayyatha jambukaugham
sanāmakatvādvāruṇastadānīm
bhayākulo jambukanāmadheyam
śrutiprasidhaṁ vyadhiteti manye.

I deem that the Sun, worried with the fear of infamy on the unanimity of name, on the ground that he is an evil planet, then, hid the notoriety which is famous for those who

are born in Tiruvoṇam (śruti) Star, while you were wiping out the herd of evil personalities.

8. tavāvatārasya phalaṁ murāre,
saṁjātamadyeti surairnutastvam
satyaṁ phalaṁ jātamiheti hāsī
bālaiḥ samaṁ tālaphalānyabhukṭāḥ.

Ye, Unclad, You have enjoyed the fruits of palms along with the children, when remarking with a smile that the purpose was already born there, in response to the blessing of the experts that the purpose of your incarnation was complete that very day.

9. madhudravasrunti br̥hanti tāni
phalāni modobharabhṛnti bhuktvā
tr̥pataiśca dr̥ptairbhavanam phalaugham
vahadbhirāgāḥ khalu bālakaistvam.

And alas, you returned home, with many children who carry home lots of fruit after being content and proud, when eaten the great palm fruits that are fleshy and mellifluous and fatty.

10. hato hato dhenuka ityupetya

phalānyadadbhirmadhurāṇi lokaiḥ

jayeti jīveti nuto vibho, tvam

marutpurādhīśvara, pāhi rogāt.

Heal me from ailments, ye, the Soul, Master of the Body, which is the city of the five breaths, and the One that is praised by the multitude as they approached eating sweet palm fruits and praising hail, hail, and long live, for the carnal desire is conquered, conquered.



ANNEXURE II A LIST OF THE WORKS OF NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA					
No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
1	Ajāmilamokṣa	Ampalapuḷa		Prabandha	KSC, Volume II, page 394, PM, page 240, Praises Nārāyaṇa
2	Kucelavṛtta= Kucelopākhyāna	Ampalapuḷa		Prabandha	Praising Janārdana PM, page 239
3	Pāñcālīsvayamvara	Ampalapuḷa		Prabandha	KSC 391
4	Rājastūya	Ampalapuḷa	c. 1620	Prabandha	KSC, Volume II, page 394, PM, page 1
5	Santānagopāla	Ampalapuḷa		Prabandha	KSSC 59, Praising Vāsudeva, Prabandhamāñjari P229
6	Subhadrāharana	Ampalapuḷa		Prabandha	Vanamālā 41, Written for Iravi cākyār

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
7	Syamantaka	Ampalapula		Prabandha	Praising Lakṣmīkānta Prabandhamañjari P240
8	Devanārāyaṇa- prasasti	Ampalapula		Prasasti	Vanamālā 33-34
9	Dhātukāvya	Ampalapula	1621 Aug 06	Śāstra	KSC 393
10	Prakriyāsarvasva	Ampalapula	1617 Mar 10	Śāstra	KSC 393
11	Ekādaśīmāhātmya	Bhāgavata		Prabandha	KSSC 59
12	Nṛgamokṣa	Bhāgavata		Prabandha	Confirmed work of NB KSC 393
13	Vāmanāvatāra	Bhāgavata		Prabandha	KSSC 59

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
14	Mausalaparva	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
15	Ajñātavāsa	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
16	Ambopākhyaṇa	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
17	Aśvamedhaparva	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
18	Bakavadha	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
19	Bhagavatddūt	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
20	Bhāratayuddha	Bharata-prabandha		Prabandha	HCSL 256, May include Bhīṣmaparva, Droṇaparva, Karṇaparva, Śalyaparva, Gaḍāparva and Suyodhanavadha.

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
21	Bhīṣmaparva	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
22	Bhīṣmasvargati	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSSC 59
23	Bhīṣmotpatti	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 394
24	Citrāṅgadavadha	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
25	Dhṛtarāṣṭrotpatti	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
26	Digvijaya	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
27	Dronaparva	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
28	Dūtavākya= Kṛṣṇadūta	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
29	Dyūtakriḍā	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
30	Gadāparva	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
31	Hṛḍimbavadha	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
32	Jarāsandhavadha	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
33	Kalyāṇasaugandhika	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
34	Karṇakuṇḍalā- paharaṇa	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
35	Kaṇaparva	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
36	Khāṇḍavadāha	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
37	Khoṣayātrā	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
38	Kirāta	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
39	Nāḷāyaṇīcarita = Draupadiparinaya	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395, Ref Cunakkara also
40	Nivātakavacavadha	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
41	Pāṇḍavotpatti	Bhārata-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
42	Pātracarita	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSSC 59
43	Sabhāpraveśa	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSSC 59
44	Śalyaparva	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
45	Satyavatīpariṇaya	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
46	Strīparva	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
47	Sundopasundo- pākhyāna	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
48	Suyodhanavadha	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
49	Svargārohaṇa	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
50	Vanavāsa	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
51	Vyāsopadeśa	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSSC 59
52	Yaduḥṣaya- prabandha	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	Vol XXXV, P10 Manuscript
53	Yuddha	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSSC 59
54	Yudhiṣṭhīrābhīṣeka	Bhārata- prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 395
55	Nārāyaṇīya	Guruvāyūr	1586 Dec 06	Stotrakāvya	U393

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
56	Śrīguruvāyupureṣa- stotra	Guruvāyūr	c. 1587	Stotrakāvya	Vanamālā 36
57	Dakṣayañña	Kocci		Prabandha	Śaivam
58	Kailāśavarṇana = Kailāśaśailavarṇana	Kocci		Prabandha	Confirmed work of NBKSC 393
59	Pārvatīsvayamvara	Kocci		Prabandha	Śaivam, KSSC 59
60	Gośrīnagaravarṇana = Virakeralaprasāsti	Kocci	c. 1614	Praśasti	Vanamālā 31
61	Mātamañiśaprasāsti = Māṭarājaprasāsti	Kocci	c. 1613	Praśasti	Submitted when King was staying at Tṛṭkanāmatilakam KSC 404
62	Tripuradahana	Kocci/Vaikkam	1683 May 25	Prabandha	Confirmed work of NBKSC 393

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
63	He sabdāgamā	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	1620 Aug 14	Muktakam	Vanamālā 26
64	Nadīpuṣṭīrasahyā	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	1611 June 29	Muktakam	Vadakkukkur Vol.3, p24
65	Kaunteyāṣṭaka	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	1590 Mar 10	Prabandha	KSC 393
66	Koṭiviraha	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	1593 Feb 06	Prabandha	KSC 393
67	Svāhāsudhākara	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr		Prabandha	KSC 394
68	Vyāsoṭpatti	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	1589 Oct 27	Prabandha	PM 171
69	Yajñasaṃrakṣaṇapra bandha	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	1622 Aug 10	Prabandha	Vol XXXV, P12 Manuscript

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
70	A letter to scholars outside Kerala	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr		Śāstra	Published by E.V. Rāman Nampūtiri KSSC 26
71	Apāṇinīyapramāṇya-sādhanaṁ = Apāṇinīyapramāṇatā	Later Trīkkaṇḍiyūr	c. 1625	Śāstra	Later than 800ME, KSC 429
72	Muktisthala śodasa stotram	Mukkola		Stotrakāvya	Sri Mukkutaḷa Bhagavati Ksetram Aitihyavum Mahatmyavum, page 24
73	Śrīpādasaptati	Mukkola	1627 Oct 17	Stotrakāvya	KSC 393
74	Gajendramokṣa	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Prabandha	Praising Gaṇapati and Mukunda in the second version as reproduced in PM 222
75	Gajendramokṣa	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Prabandha	Praises Mukunda, PM 180
76	Niranunāsika = Śūrpaṇakhāpralāpaḥ	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Prabandha	dvijapotoh and while staying at Trīkkaṇḍiyūr Vanamālā 13

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
77	Tārakavadha	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya	1568 Mar 11	Prabandha	PM 288
78	Āśvalāyaṇakriyā- krama	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya	1586 June 24	Śāstra	Similar to Sarvamatasaṃgraha
79	Sarvamatasaṃgraha	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya	1586 June 24	Śāstra	Vol XXI, Part I, 3-30 Manuscript, praising Candanakāvu deities
80	Sūktāślokaś	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Śāstra	KSC 420, Vanamālā 41, Natvā vighneśvarāḍin
81	Tāṇṭams	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Śāstra	KSSC 31
82	Tantravārttika- nibandhana	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Śāstra	Vanamālā 67, Pūrvamīmāṃsā work

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
83	Two works each of them having 1000 slokas describing the rites of Āśvalāyana and kauṣītaka sūtras respectively	Pre-Nārāyaṇīya		Śāstra	KSC 396
84	Vicchinnābhīṣeka	Rāmāyaṇa-prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
85	Agnipraveśa	Rāmāyaṇa-prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
86	Ahalyāmokṣa	Rāmāyaṇa-prabandha		Prabandha	KSC 393
87	Aṅgulīyāṅga	Rāmāyaṇa-prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
88	Aśvamedha	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
89	Ayodhyāpraveśa	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
90	Bālakāṇḍam kathā= Rāmakathā	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	HCSL 256, Bissy 136
91	Bālivadha	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
92	Kharavadha	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
93	Laṅkāpraveśa	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
94	Paraśurāma vijaya	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Vol XXXV, P10 Manuscript

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
95	Paṭṭābhiseka	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
96	Rākṣasotpatti= Rajānīcarotpatti= Rāvaṇodbhava	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Confirmed work of NB 26th U393, bissyP139
97	Rāmacandracarita	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 139
98	Rāvaṇavadha	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
99	Sītāparityāga	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
100	Sītāvayamvara	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
101	Sugrīvasakhya	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
102	Tātakavadha	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
103	Udyānapraveśa	Rāmāyaṇa- prabandha		Prabandha	Bissy 143
104	Rāsavilāsa	Unclassified		Kavya	Bissy P80
105	Kirātārjjunaviṇayam	Unclassified		Prabandha	Vol XXXV, P10 Manuscript
106	Kūrmāvatāra	Unclassified		Prabandha	KSC III, page 75
107	Nāradamohanam	Unclassified		Prabandha	KSSC 59

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
108	Rugmāṅgadacaritam	Unclassified		Prabandha	Attributed KSC 394
109	Vikramasenacampū	Unclassified		Prabandha	Bissy 143
110	Camatkāracintāmaṇi	Unclassified		Śāstra	Jyotiṣa, Vanamālā 67
111	Caturāṅgāṣṭakam	Unclassified		Śāstra	Vanamālā 29-30
112	Kauśītakasūtra-kriyāsaṅgrahaḥ	Unclassified		Śāstra	Śrautha grantha, Vanamālā 67
113	muktakas	Unclassified		Stray Verses	Ref Vanamālā, KSC, KSSC
114	Vyākhyā of the Śloka "Puṣpodbheda" of Amarukaśataka	Unclassified		Vyākhyā	KSC 396

No	Name of Work	Classification	Period	Type	Remarks
115	Vyākhyā of three ślokaś of the 11th skandha of Bhāgavata starting from "Yadyasajjanma"	Unclassified		Vyākhyā	KSC 396
116	Bhasmaniṣedha	Unclassified			KSC 396
117	Aṣṭamicampū= Aṣṭamiprabandha	Vaikkam		Prabandha	KSSC 59
118	Bimbaliśapraśasti	Vaikkam		Praśasti	Vanamālā 34-35
119	Mānavedapraśasti	Zamorin		Praśasti	Published by Ullūr, Vanamālā 30-31
120	Mānavikramapraśasti= Śailābdiśvarapraśasti	Zamorin		Praśasti	KSSC 22, KSC 405, The two works may probably be the same.
121	Mānameyodaya Mānapariccheda	Zamorin		Śāstra	At Ampalapula as per KSC 391

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Life, Date and Works of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa is a legendary maestro of the Sanskrit literary kingdom of medieval Kerala.

The intimacy of this poet with the ruling kings made him a reference point to prove the historicity of the events taken place at his life span of more than a century.

This work attempts to deliver the historical Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa from the clutches of his mythical manifestation.

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